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detected beneath the Hindu garb of older forms.) In practice cremation is frequently put off for a long time, and sometimes is not held at all, because of the great expense usually involved. This no doubt serves to account for the fact that, according to a recent estimate, only thirty per cent. of the Hindu-Balinese are given purification ceremonies.[26]

The purification rites, like the other rites, are not restricted to the family sphere. The community keeps watch to see whether and how they are observed. Reactions are sharper as regards rites of exorcism than as regards those of worship. The *desa* community takes care that the prohibitions regarding burial are maintained.

The requirement that the rites be performed in a certain way is often a condition for the use of the village burial ground (*sĕma desa*). Anyone who wishes to follow a different rite must find a resting place for his dead ones elsewhere. Such an attitude occasionally leads to difficulties between the *desa* and specific groups. The immediate occasion for the study of the *pande wĕsi* included in this volume[27] was such an issue. In some *desas* the *pande wĕsi* were not allowed to bury their dead in the *sĕma desa* because the *desa* required the use of holy water prepared by the *pĕdanda*, while the *pande wĕsi* used holy water prepared by their own religious leaders. For similar reasons use of the *sĕma desa* is, or was, also sometimes denied Hindu-Balinese converted to Christianity.

4

The Pĕdanda: His Origin

In many Balinese families, especially in the noble castes, a *pĕdanda* is invited to officiate at the *rites de passage*. This priest may be considered as a direct descendant of the Indian Brahmins whom the Indonesian rulers called to their courts in early times.[28] The chief doctrine the Brahmins brought with them to the archipelago was the Çaiwasiddhānta, which:

> ... was traditionally an esoteric teaching transferred solely from *guru* to disciple in an unbroken oral chain. The initiates usually belong to the

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general for him to officiate at such ceremonies. This is especially true as regards cremation. The *pĕdanda*, the most Hindu of Bali's religious functionaries, is associated as a matter of course with this Hindu way of caring for the dead. The chief rôle he fills in the religious ceremonies is that of preparing and blessing holy water after he has become one with Siwa. The water is then purchased by his followers, who in that way can participate in, and be purified and strengthened by, the divine.

There are also various ceremonies celebrated for and by the ruler which have a purport that is broader than purely personal. The consecration of a ruler,[44] for example, has at the same time a significance for the realm; and the ruler's ancestors are also worshipped by the community, so that a dynastic ancestor temple is often a state temple as well, as in the case of Pura Bĕsakih[45] and Pura Taman Ayun.[46] By officiating at such ceremonies, then, the *pĕdanda* fulfils a function which is indirectly of importance for the whole community.

Initially the *pĕdanda* probably did not have any direct connection with religious activities in the popular sphere. Such religious activities are still conducted to a large extent by popular priests, non-*pĕdandas* and non-Brahmins, such as the *pĕmangkus*. Nor do the *pĕdandas* conduct any religious ceremonies in ordinary temples – to do so would mean to pay homage to the ancestors of persons who are of a lower caste than the *pĕdandas* are. They are therefore usually exempted from obligations towards such temples, and they insist on that right of exemption: when such an important temple as the Pura Pĕnataran Sasih at Pejeng was being restored, some of the *pĕdandas* refused even a voluntary contribution.[47]

However, the fact that the *pĕdanda* filled an important place in the religious ceremonies for the ruler and for the realm led eventually to the situation that his potent consecratory power was also sought for ceremonies of the *desa*, the *subak*, and the like. This of course applied primarily inside the apanage territory of Bali,[48] and only to a lesser extent beyond it. Sometimes the *pĕdanda* prepares the holy water for such ceremonies at home in his own household temple, but he often does it at the site of the ceremony.

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it would be superfluous because of the help that turned up from elsewhere.

Not only did Jayaprana see to all the necessaries, but he also gave constant guidance to the festival by means of trances. As a result the influence of the *pĕdandas* was limited. They performed their ceremonies according to the prescripts, but they could not keep the festival within the bounds of an ordinary cremation. In this case they accepted without protest the fact that the festivities ultimately resulted in serious caste violations.

THE FOUR CEREMONIES

It was formally announced by the *desa* that the four following ceremonies would be held: (*a*) 1 August, 1949 – the 'awakening' of the dead person (the procession to Chĕluk Tĕrima to open the grave and remove the remains); (*b*) 6 August – the purification; (*c*) 11 August – the homage; (*d*) 12 August – the cremation.

Before relating something of these four ceremonies a description may be given of the site where the three last-mentioned ceremonies were held.

Several buildings were erected in the centre of the village, where there is a large cockpit. Everything was completely covered with paper and cotton cloth so that the assembly of temporary buildings was totally white.

The tower in which the *adĕgan*, the effigy of the dead person, was to be borne to the place of cremation had seven roofs, which is a caste privilege.[9] In addition a *padmasana* – the lotus-seat on which *pĕdandas* are carried to the place of cremation – was built.[10]

The cockpit was extended to provide a large covered space where the guests could deposit their offerings and where at the same time they could stay themselves. A kind of chapel consisting of three parts was built next to it. The offerings for the demons were placed on the ground at the chapel's unroofed entrance, where the small elevated bamboo platform from which the *pĕdanda* directed his prayers also stood. Then there was a covered part of the chapel in which those who had tendered their offerings worshipped and received holy water. This second part of the chapel adjoined

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nates) to be the best policy to attach the magic force to the *puri* or *kraton*. The epigraphs present a clear picture of a constantly increasing dependence of these crafts on the palace, the symbol of the Hindu-Javanese state. This was all the more desirable since they had traditionally enjoyed great prestige.

This is perhaps a proper place to touch on the question of the *sudras*, since it is a very important matter not only as regards the smiths, but also in connection with various other groups that have repeatedly given trouble to the Dutch authorities on Bali. I need only recall the *bujangga* or *sĕngguhu* affair in Mĕngwi. Lekkerkerker[7] and later Korn[8] pointed out in their dissertations that the use of the *agamas* or Hindu-Balinese law books by the Courts of Kĕrta in their adjudications is largely legal fiction. The same thing is true as regards the three-caste (*triwangsa*) system. In both cases canon law from elsewhere has nominally been retained and applied, while in actuality social relations on Bali have continued to be governed by traditional *adat* concepts. The relation between *adat* law and Hindu canon law in early Java and present-day Bali might well be compared to that between early Germanic law and Christian canon law in medieval Europe.

A few further comments on the *triwangsa* system may be appropriate at this point.[9] In the homeland of Hinduism the caste system was a stratification imposed on the conquered autochthonous population by the Aryans; on Bali it was perhaps a system imported from the Javanese realm of Majapahit. Up to the present no data have been found regarding a *triwangsa* structure on Bali before the Majapahit period, or at least before the beginning of Javanese influence during the reign of Erlangga in the early eleventh century.[10] The Majapahit influence – which does not date merely from the fall of Majapahit, thus in the late fifteenth century, but was strong from the time of Ayam Wuruk's reign, that is to say since around 1350 – transformed the direct Hindu-Balinism which had preceded it into a Hindu-Javanese Balinism.

In the *triwangsa* system the first caste was that of the Brahmins, from whose families the *pĕdandas* came. The second caste was that

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564 of the *ksatriyas*, whence came the rulers and their *punggawas* (originally the *punggawas* were all of them relatives of the ruler). The third caste was that of the *wesyas*. Who were *wesyas* on Java and Bali (with the noble title of *gusti*) is not clear. In India they were those merchant gentlemen and large landholders not belonging to the royal family. From around 1350 on, the other population groups were lumped together as *sudras*.[11]

Originally only a Javanese colonist could belong to the *triwangsa*. As a result of rapid intermarriage with Balinese families, and perhaps of elevation of Balinese families to the nobility by Javanese-Balinese rulers, the number of *triwangsa* members, who were at the same time 'men of Majapahit', expanded swiftly. Many Balinese who had attained something of a position for themselves attempted (and still attempt) to be elevated to the nobility, in most cases to the lowest rank, that of *gusti*.

Nowadays almost all Balinese, even outside the nobility, pretend to be 'men of Majapahit'. The designation *Bali-aga*, which merely means 'indigenous Balinese', has become an expression of disdain; all Balinese groups that did not wish to take part in the process of Hindu-Javanization were ousted from the new society, and still live in a few separate *desas*. The unity of the *Bali-aga* is a purely negative one, that of being non-Javanized Hindu-Balinese.

Hence while various population groups, including particularly a number of time-honoured craft families such as the goldsmiths, the bluers, and the weavers of Tĕnganan,[12] secluded themselves from the Hindu-Javanese Balinese society developing in the centuries between 1400 and 1900, others remained in the new society, where they were tolerated by the dominant minority as *sudras*.

The *sudras* constitute more than ninety per cent. of the present-day Hindu-Balinese population. It goes without saying that their unity, like that of the *Bali-aga*, is a purely negative one: they are not *triwangsa* members, not of noble blood.

Among these *sudra* masses there are any number of groups who have not the least desire to be looked upon as *sudras* in the sense of nondescript multitudes. They may be *sudras* as a canonical fiction, and the six per cent. of the population[13] who have raised or

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vaunted themselves into the *triwangsa* may haughtily refer to them as such, but all Balinese, including members of the *triwangsa*, recognize the existence of many different groups such as the *pasĕks*, the *bĕndesas*, and the *pulosaris* within this multitude.[14] Some of these groups, such as the *bujanggas* and the *sĕngguhus* and the people of the *desa* of Tĕnganan on the border of the *Bali-aga*, have customs that are deviant in cer ain aspects. In this connection reference may also be made to the group of the *mĕsiwa raga*, who have their own holy water, yet may be buried in the general graveyard and may be cremated. (It should also be pointed out that many 'ordinary' Hindu-Balinese do not obtain their holy water for cremation from the *pĕdanda Brahma*, but from the *pĕmangku* of the *pura dalĕm*, the guardian of the temple of the dead; such people are called *mĕsiwa kĕ dalĕm*.)

One of these separate groups is that of the *pande wĕsi*. In the course of the centuries this group has to all appearances largely accepted *triwangsa* usages in its ritual. Never completely, however, or at least never without a vivid awareness that it had older rights than the Brahmins coming from Java. In some *desas* the blacksmiths have their own temples and graveyards; in others they have become an integral part of the *desa* community, even in its Hindu-Javanese configuration.

Here I should like to report something of their *Prasasti Sira Pande Empu*, a résumé of which is given in the appendix below. The codification of literature, of whatever sort, is a Hindu phenomenon on Java and Bali. First the Hindu writings were copied out, then provided with a commentary, and in a later stage rewritten in a form adapted to Indonesian circumstances, but eventually purely Indonesian literature, which until then had been preserved in oral tradition, was also recorded. Hence the *pande wĕsi* codified their tradition in the Gelgel period, thus after 1400. Their *prasasti* is, in its present form, a Hindu-Javanese product in appearance and structure. Essential parts of it, however, are purely Indonesian.

As regards structure, the work begins with an account of creation, or a cosmogony. In content this account deviates from the usual cosmogonies in allowing the whole world to be formed from

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773 326 Brahma, who is very clearly not the Brahma of early Hinduism, but the fire god. As an intermediary figure between Brahma and 564 565 the *pande wĕsi* appears Ĕmpu Pradah, in the *prasasti* a mythological figure who has only his name in common with the historical Mpu Bharāḍa of Erlangga's reign (*circa* 1040). It is Ĕmpu Pradah who provides the smiths with their holy water.

Then follow a great number of *mantras*, both for the tools used in forging and for the ritual of the dead, which is described at length. The chief *mantra*, called *sundari bungkah*, is definitely a new fabrication the notion of which must be attributed to partial knowledge of the *mantra* books of the *pĕdandas:* the combination of letters in it cannot even be pronounced, let alone that it might have any lexical significance. It is neither indigenous nor Hindu.

565 326 As regards the essential characteristics of the *prasasti*, the most significant thing is the central place of Fire, the god of the smiths. Also of importance is the use of certain formulas which are of Indonesian origin rather than Hindu and which also occur in the age-old purification rites, the similarly pre-Hindu *ruwat* or *lukat* formulas.

In its present form, however, the *prasasti* as a whole is so much a Hindu-Javanese work and so permeated by general Hindu conceptions that on the basis of its contents I would consider it an imitation of the customary *tutur* literature which was dictated by the needs of the times. The *pande wĕsi*, hard-pressed for centuries, will have felt that, in order to maintain their own position, it would be best to imitate the general type of religious book, combining a cosmogony and ritual prescripts. As early as 1878 Van Eck commented:

> It is curious to hear the tales that have been and are being invented to demonstrate clearly and obviously that one actually is of Majapahit descent ...[14]

Korn similarly states:

> Hence the classes mentioned above [including the *pande wĕsi*], in order to escape being grouped among ordinary *sudras*, have felt called upon to demonstrate by means of genealogies, *pĕmĕchangahs*, *prasastis*, and *babads* that they are of divine origin ...[15]

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Appendix

Précis of a Lontar Used by the Blacksmiths

326 564 The opening of the *Prasasti Sira Panḍa Ĕmpu* provides a cosmogony of the type such as is usually to be found in other *tuturs* or mystical writings. The chief difference is that in this *lontar* Batara Brahma is assigned a more important rôle. Here, [372 776] however, Brahma is not to be conceived of in his traditional Hindu significance, but as lord of the fire. This conception of Brahma as equivalent to *agni* or fire corresponds completely with that of the people of Tĕnggĕr, and in fact various *mantras* show a great similarity to the *ruwat mantras* of the Tĕnggĕrese.[1]

From Brahma's asceticism arises Ĕmpu Pradah. In the *lontar* the figure has become completely mythological, a phenomenon of the Gelgel period (from 1350 onwards). There is not a trace of the historical Mpu Bharāḍa and his journey to Bali during the reign of King Erlangga. Other figures such as Sang Hyang Taya[2] point towards the later stage of mystical literature,[3] the so-called pre-Moslem Javanism stemming from the period after the heyday of Majapahit, thus after 1350. In this *lontar* there are also late Gelgel (hence Javanized Hindu-Balinese) notions regarding Majapahit and similar matters.

Ĕmpu Pradah is made the first lord of the gild of the smiths. Then it is pointed out that all sorts of weapons, agricultural tools, and the like are made by the smiths, and that these objects are used by everyone, including the Brahmins (for example creeses). The smiths are able to make such objects because of their magic power, their *sakti*, which is concentrated in their basic *mantra*, the *sundari bungkah*.

According to the *lontar* the Brahmins acquired all their wisdom and their knowledge of ritual from the smiths. Smiths are also in every respect more than the *wiku*, the lords spiritual of whatever

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origin who practise asceticism, often living in monasteries.[4] Since the *pande wĕsi* are in every way more ancient than the Brahmins they are of course not permitted to follow the newer, Brahmanic rite, hence also not to use Brahmanic holy water. 326 564

There is an explicit warning, also for other persons who are not members of the *triwangsa*, against following the usages of Brahmins and of rulers or *ksatriyas*. It is noteworthy that reference is not made to a *triwangsa–sudra* antithesis, but to one of various sorts of craftsmen over against Brahman priests and noble lords (*ratus*, *punggawas*, and other *ksatriyas*).

It is also worthy of note that for cases of such unlawful following of rituals meant for other groups Sĕmar acts as judge, for Sĕmar is a purely pre-Hindu Javanese figure, probably an old deity who later obtained a more subordinate place in the newer Hindu system. Still considered as 'older than the gods', he has a separate altar in many Balinese temples.

After this account follow extensive and detailed regulations of the way in which the *pande wĕsi* are to perform their ritual of the dead. In it there are a great many Sanskrit *mantras* also known from the liturgies of the *pĕdandas*. Besides such *mantras* there are also *mantras*, likewise in Sanskrit, for the various forging tools.[5]

In the cosmogonical and historical section the *Prasasti Sira Pande Empu* is very repetitive.

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443 Most markets have a little shrine for the goddess of fertility and of gardens, Dewi [778] Melanting, also the deity of the market, to whom the vendors make small offerings for good luck.

THE SOCIAL ORDER

564 576 It was surprising to discover the extent to which the question of rank obsesses so simple and democratic a people as the Balinese. In our house every time Gusti came near, everyone scrambled down the veranda steps to place themselves at a level lower than his. Once in Ubud we received a visit from two little girls, high-caste dancers of ten. They were to spend the night in the house, but they would not sleep unchaperoned and a servant was appointed to watch over them; when they heard he was to sleep in the attic, twenty feet up, they snatched their pillows and ran upstairs, not to be defiled a second longer by an inferior located above them. They perferred to sleep on a hard bench rather than in the bed made for them, while the poor servant had to sleep on the floor. Once we visited a high priest, who invited us to remain for lunch; when the food came he apologized for having to ask us to sit down, because, he said, " the gods would not like it " if he, a Brahmana, placed himself at a level lower than ours. We observed similar situations over and over again among people of all classes.

Five centuries of feudal domination by an aristocracy have made the Balinese so conscious of caste, the determination of a man's place in society by his birth, that the whole of their social life and etiquette is moulded by this institution. A member of the aristocracy is constantly on the look-out so that his inferiors may keep to their appointed level and address him in the language of respect. Princes still demand the adulation and kowtowing of their former vassals, although now their power has ended and their prestige is greatly diminished. Caste rules today are largely restricted to the observance of established formulas of etiquette even among the princes, who were always fairly liberal. Caste [171] relations are relaxed and simple compared with the absurd intolerance of India.

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ance of India. But the common people take for granted the divine superiority of the aristocracy and are so thoroughly accustomed to arrogance that they submit to the demands of caste etiquette as a matter of duty. 564 576

By far the most strict of social taboos is that on intermarriage. A man may marry any woman he wishes as long as she is of equal or lower caste, but under no circumstances may a low-caste man marry a woman of a higher class. For such a man even to have relations with a woman of the royal or priestly castes was a crime punished in olden times by the death of both; the woman perhaps stabbed by a member of her disgraced family, the man thrown into the sea in a weighted sack, the most degrading of deaths. Today punishment is simply exile of the guilty couple to the wilds of Djembrana or the little penal island of Nusa Penida. But like everything else in Bali, special concessions can be made if the difference of castes is not very great and the man is influential; in some cases the affair has been settled by fines, annulment of the marriage, or a special edict raising the man's caste. 564 582 684

ETIQUETTE

Despite strict caste regulations, the code of etiquette is simple and reasonable; a general air of frankness and friendliness prevails in daily intercourse, and it is only in the presence of an arrogant prince that the common man has to humiliate himself; even more polite treatment is given to a high priest. From the beginning a stranger is struck by the extreme politeness and gentle manners, even in the lower classes. The strongest criticism that can be made of a person is that he has no manners. Such a freak should be avoided. 576

One is greeted on the road with the words: "*Lungga kidja*, Where to?" and a visitor is welcomed with: "*Wau rauh*, Just arrived." These are formulas not to be taken in their literal sense. A visitor takes leave by asking to be excused: "*Tiang pamit*," the answer to which is simply "Yes," "*Ingé*." There are no other words for greeting or for good-bye. It is not polite to answer a

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562 become figuratively invisible. Great courtesy is shown even
576 among people who are intimate and it is extremely unusual for a man to "get fresh" with a girl in public; should it happen, the man would be severely punished. Thus a woman can confidently remain in her house while her male relatives are away at work, and a girl can go anywhere without fear of being approached by a stranger. Girls of high caste usually go chaperoned. Lovers are particularly careful not to show their emotions in public.

To neglect releasing a loud belch after a meal would be taken
264 by the host as a sign that the food was not satisfactory. In gen-
576 eral the Balinese are very frank in actions that would be out of the question among us, such as clearing the throat, spitting, and so forth. These are perfectly normal actions no one needs to conceal.

576 But the key to Balinese etiquette among the castes consists in
564 the language spoken and in keeping at the proper level. Under
[191] no circumstance should a common man stand higher than an aristocrat. If a lowly person has to pass a nobleman who is sitting, he stoops in front of him until he is reasonably far away, and to address his superior he must squat or sit on the ground clasping his hands together in front of his chest or over his left shoulder. To retire, after begging leave, he walks backwards, stooping and holding his hands clasped.

LANGUAGE

191 When two strange Balinese meet, as for instance on the road,
564 they call each other as *djeró*, a safe, polite way of addressing
576 someone whose title is unknown. Since there are no outward signs of caste, the appropriate titles cannot be used and all the words for "you" (*tjaí, nyaí, naní*) are extremely familiar and derogatory. Strangers talk in the middle language, a compromise between the daily speech and the polite tongue. Should, however, one be of low caste and the other a nobleman, it would be wrong for them to continue talking in this manner, and one of

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the two, probably the high-caste man, will ask the other: "*Antuh lingge?* Where is your place (caste)?" which is answered by the other man's stating his caste. Then the usual system is adopted; the low man speaks the high tongue and the aristocrat answers in the common language.

When I started to study Balinese I found it disturbing to hear the people around the house talking in the daily language and then suddenly shifting to high to address Gusti, our landlord-prince, who answered them in the common language. The high and low tongues are not two dialects or even variations of the same languages, but two distinct, unrelated languages with separate roots, different words, and extremely dissimilar character. It was always incongruous to hear an educated nobleman talking the harsh, guttural low tongue, while an ordinary peasant had to address him in the refined high Balinese.

The low language is the everyday tongue spoken by equals at home, at work, and at the market. It is undoubtedly the native language of the island and belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian dialects, the aboriginal languages of the archipelago. The high language is similar to Javanese and is of Sanskrit-Javanese origin. It is flowery, and rich in shades of meaning; I have been told that to speak it well, one should know about ten different words to express the same idea. Few Balinese can speak the high language well, and the ordinary peasant generally ignores it, except perhaps for standard expression to address a superior. The peasant learned to listen only when he became a vassal of the Hindu-Javanese feudal lords, who had to learn the language of the island, but they demanded to be addressed in their own, high tongue by the unworthy natives. The natural politeness of the Balinese perhaps gave birth to the middle language, used when in doubt of a man's caste.

It is an important rule that one may not use high terms when speaking about oneself; it would be poor taste to call one's head by the elegant term *prabú*, instead of the common word *sirah*, or to refer to one's feet as *tiokor* instead of *batis*. It would be a

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191 dreadful insult to speak of someone's head as *tandas*, meaning
564 the head of animals.
576 The type of language used in conversation is prescribed by one of the strict rules of caste etiquette, and the use of the wrong form is a serious offence. A prince has to be addressed as "highness" (*Ratú* or *Agung*), but he and the people of his caste talk to everybody in the low language, except perhaps to their parents, elder brothers, and members of the priestly caste, the Brahmanas. Polite people (not all high-born people are considered polite) are supposed to address old people in the high language.

198 There is still a fourth language, the Kawi, used on ritual occa-
197 sions, in poetry and classic literature. It is archaic Javanese, in which nine out of ten words are Sanskrit; but the knowledge of Kawi rests almost entirely with the priests and scholarly Balinese.

191 The language problem of Bali has been further complicated
178 by the addition of Malay, now officially the language of the Dutch East Indies. It is taught in the schools and is spreading rapidly among the Balinese youth because it is considerably simpler than the difficult Balinese and is free of the caste regulations. Thus a modern Balinese scholar would require five languages for social and cultural intercourse: the high, middle, and low Balinese, plus Kawi and Malay. Such a linguist is not rare today in Bali.

THE CASTES

564 The Hindu caste system as it is found today in Bali was not
177 firmly implanted until after the conquest by the famous Gadja Mada. Then Hindu-Javanese rule was definitely established and the island was divided into vassal territories paying tribute to the local princes that were given control. The natives lived under a
[565] class system of their own long before that time, however. They had their ranks, with a sort of aristocracy that combined government and priesthood.

184 Hindu-Javanese penetration did not reach many of the remote
564 mountain communities, which remained outside the feudal ter-

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ritories. There, even today, live the conservative old-fashioned Balinese, entrenched against the landlords, regarding them as intruders. In these villages the Hindu castes are not recognized and the descendants of the primitive aristocracy proudly retain their titles and their authority. At the top of the long list of native ranks are the *pasek* and the *bandesa*, the heads of the two central institutions of the old-style community: the temple of "origin," and the assembly hall, ritually belonging to the "right" and "left." I was told that a girl of these castes who marries a man of the Hindu aristocracy is publicly renounced by her family and spiritually "thrown out" of the village. Also held in respect are the blacksmiths, a caste in themselves, *pandé*, the ancient fire-priests who made the magic krisses, symbol of the family's virility. Even Brahmanas, highest among all classes, must use the high language when addressing a *pandé* who has his tools in his hands.

In the tributary districts the natives co-ordinated their castes with those of the new nobility, in a great scale of ranks that have now become so muddled through intermarriage that they appear confused even to the Balinese themselves. The original castes still remain as subdivisions of the fourth and lowest of the Hindu castes, the Sudras, who constitute about ninety-three per cent of the population of Bali.

The Hindu-Balinese nobility is divided into the three well-known groups: the priests, Brahmanas (Brahmins of India); the ruling royalty, Satrias (Ksatriyas); and the military class, Wesias (Vesiya). They are supposed to originate directly from the gods. According to the legends, the Brahmanas sprang out of the mouth of Brahma, the Satria from his arms, and the Wesia from his feet. Perhaps the reason why the common people look upon their nobility with such respect is that they have still an unshaken belief in their divine origin. The true Balinese religion consists mainly in the worship of the family ancestors, with the patriarch-founder of the village as the communal god. Thus it was easy for the conquerors to establish their own dead kings as ancestral gods, since they, too, descended from canonized kings and holy

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564 men who were in turn descendants of the highest divinities. This
773 fitted perfectly with the Balinese idea of rank and with their cult of ancestors. In many legends the great kings and religious teachers of the past were considered as reincarnations of gods, so I was never surprised when a priest or a prince assured me in all seriousness that his family descended from Indra or Wisnu, or some such divine character.

Such is the caste complex of some Balinese that I often found
[554] silly boys from Den Pasar posing as members of the higher castes when they visited a strange town where they were not known. Some common people say that once they were of a higher caste and that their present state is due to faults committed by their
[775] ancestors. Good behaviour on this earth brings a raising of caste in the next incarnation, and bad behaviour the opposite; consequently social position in the world of men is the result of behaviour in former lives. Many Wesias claim that their families were Satrias lowered in rank while they were ordinary humans; such was the case of the ancestor of the royal families of Badung and Tabanan, the legendary Arya Damar, who was lowered to a Wesia. On the other hand, the Balinese insist that the Radja of Karangasem was a Wesia who had himself elevated to the Satria caste after the fall of the Klungkung dynasty.

564 The "highest of the high," the Brahmanas, claim descent
792 from the great priest Wau Raúh, who wandered all over Bali in
773 legendary times creating children with women of all classes, even the servant women of his wives. These children, the future priests, were the heads of the various Brahmana families, some of which are higher than others, according to their purity of blood on account of the origin of their various mothers. The Brahmanas are further divided into two sects: the Siwa and Bodda, the descendants of the two famous brothers, the religious teachers Mpú Kuturan and Mpú Bharada, who created the laws for the Balinese. A distinction is made between initiated Brahmanas, the priests, and the uninitiated.

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It is generally recognized that the Brahmanas are higher than the Satrias, but a great undercurrent of disagreement and animosity has always existed between them on this account. The Satrias resented having to pay homage to the Brahmanas, and the legends and historical records are full of instances of the feud created by their struggle for caste supremacy. Kings were deposed by adventurers supported by Brahmanas; high priests cursed rulers and drove them to commit suicide, and often they had to flee and hide to protect their daughters from arrogant princes who wished to take them as wives, thus affronting their superior caste pride. Once in a *djauk* performance I saw a typical story enacted: The Radja of Bali, the Dewa Agung of Klungkung, wanted to prove that Brahmanas were fakers when they claimed supernatural powers. He placed a duck in a well and sent for the highest priest in the country so that he could prove his magic power by guessing what was in the well. The priest said that it was a great serpent, a *naga*. The king laughed in his face and uncovered the well; a huge *naga*, fire streaming from its nostrils, shot out and coiled around the king's body and would have crushed him to death if the priest had not killed the *naga* with a miraculous arrow. From then on, the princes did not dare to question the supremacy of the Brahmanas. This legend is still commemorated at the cremation of Satrias, when the Brahmanic priest shoots arrows at the *naga banda*, the serpent that conveys the soul to heaven. (See page 387.)

But the dispute still goes unsettled, with the priest's sphere of influence restricted now to purely religious duties. Brahmanas are devoid of administrative powers, but serve as judges in the courts; they could not be sentenced to death and did not pay taxes to the princes, but instead had to pray for the well-being of the land. Their own regulations forbid them from attending cockfights or making money in commerce. They are exalted and aloof, but ordinary people secretly laugh at them; there is a popular story, *Pan Bunkling*, in which the hero is constantly poking fun at Brahmanas and their philosophy. The Brahmanas can be

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564 identified by the titles of Ida Bagus for men and Ida Ayú for
792 women, both meaning " Eminent and Beautiful."
554 Satrias are supposed to be the descendants of the former rulers,
564 and many claim to be of the family of Sri Krisna Kapakisan, the great overlord that ruled Bali at the time of Gadja Mada. He was supposedly born of a heavenly nymph and a stone Brahmana (Korn). The Satria caste is divided into two main groups; the Satria Dalem, the descendants of the ruling princes, and the lesser Satria Djawa, those of the prime ministers' families. Today Satria blood is very mixed, owing to intermarriage with the lower castes, some of which are considered even lower than the higher Wesias. The Satrias are called by the titles of Ratú, Anak Agung, Tjokorde, and so forth. Among the lesser groups are the Predewa and the Pangakan (who bear the titles of Prebagus and Presanghyang).

The members of the third caste, the Wesias, are better known in Bali by their title of Gusti, also subdivided into many groups. The highest, the Pregusti, are the descendants of Arya Damar, the predecessor of Gadja Mada. The lower Wesias are the descendants of the lesser Javanese princes and Pungawas. The Gustis are the majority of the Balinese nobility and are often politically influential.

564 Certain professions are unclean, and if practised within the
783 village pollute the *desa*, such as the indigo-dyers, pottery-, palm-sugar-, and *arak*-makers. Although Korn claims there are no real outcastes in Bali, I was told by everybody that indigo-dyers belong
[766] to a special caste, the *pamesan*, who are forbidden by traditional law to use wood or cotton in their cremation bier, which should be open, without a roof, and devoid of ornaments. They said that the *pamesan* are often rich and careful to conceal their origin. When it is mentioned that someone is a *pamesan*, it is done in a pitying whisper. There was a scandal in Den Pasar about someone who had maliciously accused another of being a *pamesan*. This may perhaps point to a trace of the idea of the outcaste.

565 The aristocracy divides the population of Bali into " insiders "

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occupation of the women of caste who feel above doing heavy house labour, but they are not lazy and take to weaving with tenacity. In our house the wives and aunts of our host, all noblewomen with servants to do the housework, remained all day

Loom (*Prabot Tennun*)

A — Pendalan
B — Tjetjaga
C — Pengrorogan
D — Selaran
E — Bungbunggan
F — Yering
G — Belida
H — Srat
I — Sumpil
J — Apit
K — Épor
L — Tunda

glued to their looms and often continued working into the night by the faint light of a petrol lamp.

Towards evening the ground of the house shook, resounding with deep, rhythmic thumping – the women threshing the rice for the next day's meal. Two women pounded the rice in wood mortars with long, heavy pestles, each dropping her pestle alternately in unfailing, perfectly timed intervals, catching it on the rebound with the other hand. Then the rice was separated from

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845 metjaru, the great ceremony of purification. (See "Nyepí," page
783 277).

It is at this point that serious trouble starts for the unfortunate father of the twins; he must pay all expenses for the costly purification offerings and ceremonies by selling his property if he has no ready cash. If the amount obtained is not enough, the townspeople have to raise the rest, but should the man be totally destitute, the village advances the money. In old times the man became a slave of the village until he could buy his freedom with labour, but today in many places he is allowed to beg from house to house, authorized by a special permit from the village heads. Since the purpose of his begging is for the good of the community, no one may refuse him, no matter how small the contribution.

[426]

845 This strange calamity is only for the common people. Among
564 the nobility the birth of such twins is generally a happy omen and people of high caste claim that should the boy and girl twins marry each other, the union would bring prosperity and happiness to the country and they would become rulers. A nobleman explained to me that when a couple of his class has led a model life of faithfulness unto death, they will reincarnate as twins "again married in the mother's womb," returning to their old home. Despite this idea, however, the marriage of twins has seldom happened and my Balinese friends knew of only one case where a noble boy married his twin sister.

[775]

[588]

845 A logical explanation of these curiously contradictory customs
835 has been given by Jane Belo in her thorough "Study of Customs
564 Pertaining to Twins in Bali" (see Bibliography); on the native side, as originated by the dread of brother and sister incest so widespread among primitive peoples, a breach of marital taboos and consequently a crime. The native idea came in conflict with the general policy of establishing the superiority of the ruling class, who tried to liberate themselves from the curse by legalizing the birth of such twins and declaring that such was the desirable way for Radjas to have children; consequently for the common

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people to have children like them was an affront to their superiority. Jane Belo points also to an endless variety of concepts relating to twins in Bali, differing from district to district and even from one village to the next — a typical attitude in regard to everything in Bali, with the general trend as described above. However, the birth of twins of the same sex (*kembar*) does not bring pollution to the village and passes as an ordinary happening, although again, as in everything else, there are exceptions to the rule.

THE LIFE OF CHILDREN

Forty-two days after birth, when the child is blessed by the priest, he is given anklets and bracelets of brass and silver in place of the black strings that he wore tied around his wrists since he was seven days old. His ears are pierced, and a thread is passed through each hole so that three months later he can wear little flower-shaped ear-rings of gold. Around his neck is tied a necklace composed of various amulets that will protect him and influence his growth: a silver tube containing a dried piece of the child's own umbilical cord, some coloured glass beads, a piece of black coral (*akar bahar*), an ancient coin, and a tiger's tooth or a piece of tiger bone. This is all the child wears until he is about seven years old, but little girls are given a skirt and a sash three or four years before. The repugnance of the Balinese for actions characteristic of animals causes them not to permit children to crawl on all fours, and before the child is three months old he may not even touch the earth and is carried everywhere.

Offerings are made when the child is three months old (*nelu-bulanin*) and again at his first anniversary (*otonan*) when the child is 210 days old, one Balinese year. Then he is dressed in rich brocades and is given gold bracelets, anklets, a necklace set with rubies and sapphires, and a gold disk with a ruby in it, which is pasted on the child's forehead. His hair is then cut (*ngutangin bok*), and his head is shaved clean except for a lock of hair on the forehead that is never cut; otherwise he would become ill.

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perform in the systematic village magic: the care of divine heir-looms too dangerous for less pure people to handle. Consequently, in the strict communities of the Bali Aga, sexual licence on the part of a boy or girl is a crime against the village magic and is proportionately punished.

This is not the case, however, among the ordinary Balinese villages, where boys and girls lead a freer sexual life. There matters of sex are not solemn, mysterious prohibitions, and it is natural that in coming of age they should continue to have sexual relations that started in the character of play, incompletely of course, during childhood.

The average Balinese does not attach great importance to virginity and it is not difficult for a divorcee, a widow, or even a woman who has committed adultery to marry again. Low-caste girls have many occasions to meet boys and often carry on affairs, kept secret because of natural shyness. The Balinese are extremely discreet in their intimate relations; lovers are never seen together in public, and it would be unpardonable manners for a man to make insinuations to a girl in public. It is not unusual for girls to take the lead and "make eyes" (*saling sulang*) at boys, or give encouragement to a shy suitor with some sort of small present.

Girls of high caste are usually chaperoned and their chances of meeting boys are considerably fewer. For the princes, whose mentality is more "Oriental" than that of the less prejudiced average Balinese, a virgin (*gentan*, in the absolute sense of the word) is highly desirable. Where feudalism still holds sway, a prince may order a subject of his to reserve his pretty daughter for him when she comes of age, and there are cases of Satrias and Brahmanas who kidnapped a girl of their own caste immediately after the first menstruation. Such cases are shocking to most Balinese, however, and there are rules and penalties against premature marriages. In general, the average marriageable age is eighteen for boys and sixteen for girls. A noble Balinese friend once told me that he could tell a virgin at first sight from the

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832 The love technique of the Balinese is natural and simple; kissing, as we understand it, as a self-sufficient act, is unknown and the caress that substitutes for our mode of kissing consists in bringing the faces close enough to catch each other's perfume and feel the warmth of the skin, with slight movements of the head (*ngaras, diman*) in the manner which has been wrongly called by Europeans "rubbing noses." In general, the love prac-
833 tices of Westerners seem to the Balinese impractical and clumsy, especially in relation to intercourse, for which the general adopted form is the man kneeling, the woman reclining, a posture such as Malinowsky describes of the Trobriand Islanders in his *Sexual Life of Savages*. The Balinese believe that too hasty
[845] intercourse can only result in a deformed child. I have insisted that the Balinese are frank in sexual matters, although the terminology for the sexual act is governed by definite rules: there are extremely refined terms like the classic *akrida*; usual ones, *metemú*, "to meet"; and unmentionably coarse ones (*mekatuk*). There are, besides, terms used for animals, such as *metungan* and *mesakí*.

835 608 The taboo against incest (*salah timpal*) extends to certain spiritual relations; it is incest to sleep with the daughter of one's teacher, who is considered as his pupil's spiritual father. A real child cannot marry an adopted brother or sister, and among the Bali Agas cousins are equally forbidden to marry, although the rest of the population does not always agree, especially the nobility, among whom such marriage is often considered desirable.
[732] Tabooed for sexual relations are albinos, idiots, lepers, and in general the sick and deformed. Making love to a woman of a
● [564] higher caste is a dreadful breach of caste rules and a dangerous one if discovered — I have mentioned that in old times the couple was killed — although it is not unthinkable that a Sudra boy may have a secret love affair with a noble girl.

838 It is my impression that sexual abnormality is not prevalent among the Balinese and if it exists at all among the common people is due purely to mercenary reasons. The people are nat-

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males as against 576,543 females, or 49.35 per cent men and 50.65 per cent women, a percentage of women that is even below normal. Men of the nobility often have two, three, four, and even more wives, and old records mention Radjas with as many as two hundred. This is a thing of the past, however, and there are few people today who can afford more than one wife. But the Balinese are naturally polygamous and it is common for men to have lovers and for women to take the extra-marital relations of their husbands as natural.

If a man brings home a second wife, the first is not expected to show jealousy, but unpleasant situations develop if the man takes a new wife without the knowledge of his first wife. Such was the case in our household and we often had to mediate between the two wives of our host in violent squabbles that exploded for the most trivial causes. I remain under the impression, however, that it was often wounded pride rather than sentimental jealousy that brought about the tense situations, and with other families of polygamous Balinese we knew this was so. The younger wife of a friend took care of the elder wife's child, and when they visited us together one would have taken them for sisters, such was the affection they showed for each other. Often another woman with whom to share the house means company and help to the first, and thus she is welcomed, especially if the new wife was chosen, as often happens, by the first wife.

Two wives in one home have separate houses to sleep in and often they do not even live together. Many Balinese live with the first wife in the ancestral home and keep their subsequent wives in other houses and even in different villages, visiting them once in a while and only bringing them together at festivals where they all must pray together. They agree that this is the most convenient arrangement, and our harassed host confided to me that in future lives he would be wiser and would marry only once.

The free and easy status of women of the average class is not enjoyed by women of the aristocracy; their husbands are absolute masters and they live restricted and secluded in the palace,

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562 the *puri*, usually going out only in groups to festivals. The first
564 wife of the same caste as the husband (*padmí*) enjoys a higher
[837] status than a second wife (*madewí*), even though she may be
[595] of high caste also. Then there are those with a considerably lower status, the wives of low caste (*penawing, slir*), who are regarded as legal concubines. The prince does not usually appear at his wedding ceremony with a bride of low caste, and she is ceremonially married to his kris or to a tree. The wives of a prince live together in the *puri* and each has her own *balé*, placed according to rank, where the prince visits them by turns. A low-caste wife of a nobleman receives the title of *djeró*, and there are special titles to establish the status of their children. The son of a nobleman and a woman of lower class is of the caste of the father unless there is a great difference between them.

684 A man is not morally bound to be faithful to his wife, but in-
562 fidelity on the part of the woman is a dreadful crime, punished legally in old times with the death of the guilty couple. I was
682 told of the case of a man of the aristocracy of Badung who found his wife in compromising circumstances with a man of his caste, a relative besides. Out of his mind with rage, he clubbed them to death, then sent for the *pungawa* to give himself up. Calmly he asked for the alarm-drum not to be sounded, as is done in cases of violence when a man temporarily loses his mind and runs amuck. His wish was granted and he was led to jail. When the trial came up, his crime was taken lightly by the noble judges and he was given a short jail sentence. It is possible that in "civilized" society he would have gone free.

586 Ordinarily in a case of adultery the husband simply "throws
[837] his wife away" (*makutang*). Divorce laws are simple and easy. A man may claim divorce if his wife is sterile, quarrelsome, or lazy, but a woman has also the right to divorce an impotent man, or one who has some occult illness, is cruel to her, or fails to support her, although many women support themselves and there is no standard established as to what is non-support. A woman who wants a divorce simply leaves her husband's home,

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kris to represent him, as for instance a judge who is sick and cannot attend a trial. In certain cases the marriage of a prince to a woman of the lower castes is performed by proxy in the form of the kris of her future husband. A new kris must be made "alive" by a priest, who blesses it in a special ceremony, reciting magic formulas over it and inscribing imaginary signs over the blade, while its owner dedicates an offering. Ancient krisses are kept alive with offerings of flowers and incense; a neglected and rusty kris is said to be dead.

The economic status of a man is determined by the richness of his kris, and a good part of his fortune is invested in the gold and jewels that decorate it. Only the blade is sacred, and the gold parts, the precious stones and ivory can be pawned in case of need and turned into cash. There are krisses worth thousands of guilders, covered with beaten gold, with handles shaped like gods or demons and set with enormous rubies and rose diamonds. Such are the famous krisses of the kings of South Bali taken by the Dutch as war booty at the time of the great mass-suicide of Den Pasar in 1906, now among the star pieces of the Batavia Museum. These fancy jewelled krisses were made to be worn on state occasions, while simpler ones were used for actual fighting, with more practical wooden handles shaped to ensure a good grip.

Gold hilts with precious stones are of course the most stylish, but there are also some made of horn, ebony, and other precious woods, with a heavy base (*bebataran*) of gold set with rubies and a small ring, of gold and rubies also, between the hilt and the blade. There is a great variety of kris handles, but a particularly interesting model is that called *kotjet-kotjetan*, the representation in ebony of the chrysalis of a large beetle with long antennæ.

The sheath not only protects the kris from outside influences, both physical and magic, but also insulates the vibrations emanating from the kris itself, which may act dangerously on human beings. The sheaths of the super-ornate krisses are of wood

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The blacksmiths, makers of krisses, belong to a special caste, the *pandé*, aristocrats among the lower classes who worship the fiery volcano Batur and are regarded as powerful magicians who understand the handling of iron and fire, two elements held in reverence since earliest times. The distinguished *pandés* are even respected by the proud Brahmanas, who consider themselves the highest form of humanity, and who are required to address a *pandé* in the high language when the smith has his tools in his hands. It is said (according to Korn) that a *pandé*

Blacksmiths at Work (*from a Balinese manuscript*)

who engaged a Brahmanic priest to officiate for him ("took holy water from a Brahmana") would lose his "*pandé* power" (*kepandean*) and might even become a monkey.

There are many popular beliefs concerning the life and power of krisses. It is said that a witch-doctor, through trance, can communicate with the spirit of a given kris and learn its past history. It is also believed that the strange fascination that a kris has on certain individuals is the cause of the temporary madness of a man who runs amuck (*amok*). He is not responsible for his acts because he is compelled by a bloodthirsty kris to run wild, killing people. Often ancestral krisses are held to have come from the heavens as a gift from the gods, and these krisses are powerful amulets against all sorts of calamities. In Ubud I was told of a man who fell asleep under an old *waringin* tree and dreamed that the spirit of the tree ordered him to cut certain roots for an offering. Imbedded among the roots, he found an old kris blade. Afraid to keep it, he turned it over to the feudal

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good example of the love of the Balinese for their music and the pride they show in their orchestras. [533] [621]

When the orchestra is assembled and the musicians are sufficiently trained, rehearsals called by a special tomtom (*kulkul*) are held every night after the work of the day is done. Although it is a requirement in the education of every prince to be able to play many instruments, the musicians are generally ordinary villagers without distinction of caste, and the strict rule that a man of low caste must always sit at a lower level than a nobleman is completely ignored; in an orchestra, at least as long as a performance or a rehearsal is in progress, a prince becomes democratic. Each musician trains a substitute, often a child, to take his place in case of disability; in this way a musical school is formed. A good musician is not satisfied to play one instrument; he must be able to play all equally well and must know the music of other types of orchestras than his own. [564] [868]

The leaders are the two drummers, the best musicians of the group, selected by the group for their musical knowledge. It is generally the orchestra leaders who compose the new pieces. Of the two composers in Belaluan, one was a chauffeur and the other a poor neighbour of ours who worked occasionally carrying loads to the ships. I was told that I Lotring, leader of an orchestra with a great reputation (the famous *pelegongan* of Kuta, revived through the efforts of Colin McPhee), spoke and thought of nothing but *gamelans* and music, and it was said that he dreamed his compositions. I Lotring is the author of a masterpiece of rhythm called *Gambangan*. New compositions are elaborated gradually by the leader through criticism and suggestions from other orchestra members.

Rehearsals often last a period of months before a new piece has been rounded out enough to be played publicly. Modifications and improvements are made during the course of the rehearsal; often a drummer stops the rehearsal, walks to one of the high keyboards, and plays his suggestion for a change. The group

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535 158 girls dressed in *legong* costumes go into trance, supposedly to be possessed by the spirits of the heavenly nymphs, to bring luck and magic protection to the village through their performance. The steps of the *sanghyang* are exactly the same as those of the *legong* and it is disconcerting and eerie that at no time have the little girls received dance training, and that when in trance they are able to perform the difficult steps that take months and even years of practice for an ordinary *legong*.

THE BARIS

535 An indispensable part of the ritual feasts of the old villages is the *baris gedé*, a stately war dance in which ten or twelve middle-aged warriors with their heads covered with flowers, wearing magic scarves, and carrying long spears tipped with peacock feathers, dance in double line, grimacing and striking heroic poses until the music becomes violent, when they enact a sham battle with their black and silver spears.

No dance in the world can be more manly than the *baris*. Just [831] as the *legong* is the representative feminine dance, so the *baris* typifies the strong elegance of the male and is the source of material for all masculine dances. When the first turkey came [825] to Bali, the Balinese inmediately named it *siap baris*, the "*baris* bird." Remaining essentially a war dance, the style of the ritual [536] *baris* was later adapted to the performance of heroic plays in the *baris pendét*, in which individual dancers play the military heroes, using dramatic dialogues to accompany their movement.

Every well-educated prince must be able to dance the *baris* [564] when he enters middle age, having undergone a rigorous training to obtain the necessary skill and flexibility. To be in trim to dance the *baris*, one must be able to sit on one's heels keeping the knees spread wide apart in line with the body. A good dancer of *baris*, besides a finished physical training and an expressive face, 535 must also have a cultivated, sonorous voice. It is essential that 826 an actor with a "fine" face, who plays youthful heroes, have a high-pitched voice, while an actor who plays "strong," rough

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773 to civilize them by sending several of the gods to teach them the law of life, agriculture, and the arts and to provide them with the necessary tools.

[776]
[532]

The Birth of Batara Kala

THE HIGH PRIESTS AND THE BRAHMANIC RITUAL

564 775 793 The ultimate stage of perfection in the evolution of man on this earth, from the Balinese point of view, is to reach the Brahmana caste and to be ordained as a *pedanda*,[2] a high priest: from simple

[2] The word pedanda comes, according to Friederich, from danda, "a staff"—"staff-bearer," the law. The Balinese call high priests also pandita or penita, "the Learned."

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human being, to warrior, statesman, scholar, priest, and after death a god. Simply having reached this position, the highest during life in the long and arduous scale of evolution, endows *pedandas* with a magic character and justifies – in their own eyes at least – their superiority over all living men.

Thus the high priests are, to the Balinese, extraordinary beings who, by their caste, knowledge, systematic preparation, and old age, are immune in handling the dangerous secret formulas of the higher ritual. An ordinary person, unprepared and not possessing the capacity to store the necessary surcharge of magic energy, would be destroyed, blown out like a weak fuse under a high charge of electricity, should he attempt to use this magic to control the unseen forces. With the proper training, however, people of all castes may become priests; a common man can study to become a witch-doctor, for *pemangku* or for *sunguhu*, and a mystic prince with a vocation may become a *resi*, but only a Brahmana can be an authentic *pedanda*. Although the low-caste priests control the ordinary temple and community ritual, have direct dealings with the ancestors, and are able to intimidate demons with formulas of their own, they are restricted to officiating for people within or below their caste, while the Brahmanic priests serve all those who can afford their fees.

The *pedandas* still exert a powerful influence on Balinese life despite the fact that their relations with the people were never intimate; they represent the law, and the judges of the high native courts (*raadkerta*) are still *pedandas* in the majority. They purify persons or dwellings, bless people after illness or accident, and can avert curses or spells. On account of their knowledge of the calendar they must be consulted every time it is necessary to determine the exact lucky or unlucky date on which to begin or to which to postpone a significant undertaking. Mountain people ignore them entirely, but they are essential to all ceremonies of the nobility, and even the poorest commoner will make great sacrifices to be able to call a *pedanda* to officiate

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782 decorated with lacy garlands of pig's fat and stomach tissues (omentum) which can be seen at great festivals.

Ordinary offerings to the house and for temple feasts are made by any woman; but for special occasions an offering, to be effective, must conform to certain specifications based on the influences that rule the day: the calendar, the cardinal directions, numerology and so forth. Each day of the week has its colour and numerical value that dictate the flowers to be used and the number of units in the offering. These rules are often specified in the adat, the traditional village law, but they are better known to professional offering-makers, Brahmana women (*Idayú*), who are engaged for a fee to direct the making of them.

[783] Offerings are sharply divided into "unclean," evil-spirit offerings (*metjaru, banten sor, pasegan*) and "pure" (*sukla*) offerings for the gods.

793 4. *The Sunguhu.* Sunguhus are low-caste priests whose main office is the dedication of devil offerings in ceremonies of purification. Although ●564 Sudras, the *sunguhu* are a proud caste in themselves and claim descent [783] from Sanghyang Tunggal and from Sanghyang Meleng, the Sun. The paraphernalia of the *sunguhu*, although generally poor and in deplorable condition, and their ritual are practically identical with those of the high Brahmanic priests; but accessories peculiar to *sunguhus* are the conch-[534] shell blown by an assistant during his prayers, and the double drum [171] similar to that of the Tibetan lamas, which in Tibet are made of two sections of the top of human skulls.

Like the high priests, they wear their hair long and in a knot, worn 302 low at the back of the neck and not on top like the pedandas, because 773 the worthy I Tusan, patron saint of blacksmiths and the greatest iron-793 worker of ancient Gelgel, was unjustly exiled by a pedanda, who in time repented and, troubled in his conscience, tried to restore I Tusan, going into the forest in search of him. The blacksmith agreed to return only on condition that the pedanda carry him on his back. He had to comply and all the way the blacksmith hung on to the priest's topknot, pulling it down his neck (De Kat Angelino: *Mudras auf Bali*).

Dr. Goris (*Secten op Bali*) is of the opinion that they were the priests 114 of the wesnawa sect, now disappeared, the worshippers of Wisnu and Sri. 793 His attributes — the conch-shell, the turtle, the fiery wheel (*tjakra*) — are all Visnuite symbols. Furthermore, his spoken formulas, like those of the high priests, are in Sanskrit. He is in charge of the offerings of the Underworld, in contrast to pedandas, who dedicate the offerings to the Sun and Sky.

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All legends of the origin of *sunguhus* agree that they were high priests degraded in rank because of some fault or because they worshipped demoniac characters. The *Usana Djawa* mentions that they were Brahmanas degraded because they worshipped the devil Dalem Mur Samplangan. *Sunguhus* also claim to be descended from the two sons of the great religious teacher Mpú Bharada; one branch of the family was degraded. They claim further that they were pupils of Mpú Kuturan, Bharada's brother, but never attained great wisdom and did not become full-fledged high priests, but only *budjangga bali*, a term for *sunguhus* for which there is no satisfactory explanation (a child of a Brahmana and a Sudra becomes a *budjangga*). Another manuscript states that the *sunguhus* were descendants of I Guta, a fallen dweller of the sky, who on earth became a man-eating raksasa. He became a servant of Mpú Djidjaksara, cousin of Mpú Kuturan and Bharada. He imitated his master at office, but was caught in the act and from then on was allowed to officiate as priest of the devil offerings (Korn: *Adatrecht van Bali*).

5. *The Calendar. The Solar-Lunar Year.* The Hindu saka (Sanskrit: çaka) year by which the mountain people, the Bali Aga, still reckon time and set the dates for their temple festivals is divided into twelve months (*saséh*) the names of which are simply the Balinese numbers from one to ten: 1, *kasa*; 2, *karo*; 3, *katiga*; 4, *kapat*; 5, *kalima*; 6, *kanam*; 7, *kapitú*; 8, *kaulú*; 9, *kasanga*; 10, *kadasa*; with two additional names, *desta* and *sada*, to make up the twelve months. These two last names are corruptions of the Sanskrit names of the eleventh and twelfth months. The ritual Sanskrit names of the months are, as the Balinese pronounce them: *s'rawana, badra wada, asudjé, kartika, margasira, posya, maga, palguna, madumasa, wesaka, djiesta*, and *asada*.

These months consist of 29 or 30 days counted from each new moon. The year has either 354, 355, or 356 days, a difference of 9 to 11 days from the true solar year. This is corrected by the addition of an extra month (*saséh nampeh*) every thirty months, corresponding to about two and a half of our years. There are thirty lunar days in each month, but one day is jumped over every 63 days (nine weeks of seven days) to correlate them with the 29 or 30 solar days in each month (Goris: "Bali's Hoogtijden").

Nyepí, the most important yearly feast, the purification of the entire island, marks the spring equinox and is the only national festival of the saka calendar. It falls on the first day, the "dark moon" of the ninth month (*tilem-kasanga*), despite which it is regarded as the beginning of the year. The *nyepí* ceremony here described, which took place on the

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774 would stand on his head or take any position that would place
826 his feet on a higher level. It is an offence even to pat a small
[578] child on the head and there is no worse insult than "I'll beat
[787] your head!" One's soul wanders away during sleep (dreams are its travels and adventures), without becoming, however, entirely detached from the body, and it is considered dangerous to
[861] awaken a person too suddenly. Children are never beaten, so as not to shock their tender, still undeveloped souls.

828 Madness, epilepsy, and idiocy are the results of a bewitched
753 soul, but ordinary sickness is due to a weakened, polluted soul
774 rather than to mere physical causes. Life vanishes when the soul
76 escapes from the body through the mouth, and death occurs when it refuses to return. The relatives of a dying man who has lost consciousness go to the temple of the dead and, through a medium, beg the deities for the release and return of his soul.
775 By force of habit, the soul lingers near the body when death comes, and remains floating in space or lives in a tree near by until liberated by the obliteration of the corpse by the elements: by earth, by fire, and by water, to destroy the last unclean tie that binds the souls of the dead to this earth. By cremation the soul is released to fly to the heavens for judgment and return to be reborn into the dead man's grandchildren. Failure to liberate the soul by neglecting to perform the cremation or by incomplete or improper rites would force the soul to turn into a ghost that would haunt the careless descendants.

764 Cremation rites were probably not introduced into Bali until
775 the time of Madjapahit, about the thirteenth century, but the ancient Balinese animists already believed that their life-fluid was immortal and that after death it returned to animate other beings. They practised the obliteration of the corpse by burial or, as is still done in the primitive village of Sembiran, simply by abandoning the bodies in the forest at the edge of a ravine to be eaten by wild animals. A man in Bali is born into a superior
775 state — a higher caste — if his behaviour on this earth has been
564 good; otherwise he will reincarnate into a lower stage of life to

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begin over again the progressive march towards ultimate perfection. A man who is guilty of serious crimes is punished by being reborn, often for periods of thousands of years, into a tiger, a dog, a snake, a worm, or a poisonous mushroom.

Between incarnations, until the time comes for its return to this earth, the soul goes to Indra's heaven, the *swarga*, a reservoir where "life is just as in Bali, but devoid of all trouble and illness." But this process does not go on forever; when the individual has attained the highest wisdom and has reached the highest position among men, that of a Brahmana who has been ordained as a priest, he hopes to obtain liberation from this cycle of births and become a god. The man of low caste attributes his state to former misconduct, redeemable in future lives only through a virtuous existence, which entitles him to be reborn into a higher and higher caste.

A man's life on this earth is but an incident in the long process of the soul's evolution.

The grand send-off of the soul into heaven, in the form of a rich and complete cremation, is the life-ambition of every Balinese. He looks forward to it, often making provision during life with savings or property that can be pawned or sold to finance his cremation. The greatest happiness that comes to a Balinese family is to have, in this way, accomplished the liberation of the souls of their dead, but complete cremation ceremonies are so costly that a family of limited means have to wait often for years, haunted by the fact that their dead are not yet cremated, and are sometimes obliged to sacrifice their crops and their lands in order to pay for the ceremonies. The expenses of a cremation are enormous; besides the priest's fees, the great amounts of holy water used, and the costly towers, coffins, offerings, and so forth, there is the food and entertainment provided for days for the hundreds of guests and assistants that help in the ceremonies.

A rich cremation adds greatly to the prestige of a well-to-do family, giving occasion for gay, extravagant festivities that are eagerly anticipated despite the financial burden they represent.

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764 A good average for a great cremation is seldom less than a
435 thousand *ringgits* or about two million *kepengs* (a *ringgit* is worth
[436] about one gold dollar in normal exchange), but there have been cremations of princes that cost as much as fifty thousand guilders (at the time of writing, about twenty-five thousand dollars).

The cremation of the mother of Naséh, a former servant of ours, was the poorest we ever witnessed. She was burned three days after her death with only the most essential rites, but even then the costs amounted to more than the fifty guilders that Naséh had succeeded in borrowing. A unique and rather improvised cremation of a nobleman of Pemetjutan cost only three hundred and fifty guilders because the body had to be burned on the same day the death occurred and I was told by the relatives that had the corpse been kept for the reglementary forty-two days, the cremation would have cost over two thousand guilders. The extraordinary decision to cremate a man of high
[796] caste immediately became possible only because the festival that the community was preparing for, their greatest in a decade, could not have taken place had there been an important uncremated corpse in the village. The family was in difficult financial circumstances and they welcomed the decision.

[793] A Brahmanic priest is essential to a proper cremation, and only the destitute would call upon a lesser priest. The quality of the ceremonies the priest performs is determined by the fee paid to him. There is a choice of three kinds of cremation: *utama*, the highest, costing an average of fifty dollars in fees for the priest alone; *madia*, the medium-class cremation, for about twenty-five dollars; and *nista*, the low, for about five dollars. The rites for each are about the same, the difference consisting in the quality and power of the magic formulas and symbols and the sort of holy water used, the credentials given by the priest to the soul entering heaven, and the more or less thorough purification of the soul.

● 564 It is always a good resource, in a great cremation of a prince,
764 to provide a retinue of souls for his trip into the beyond and to

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profit at the same time by the magical and social advantages of a more elegant cremation. In Krobokan we witnessed the release of two hundred and fifty souls of commoners who accompanied a member of the royal family. It is of extreme importance, however, to keep within the rules prescribed for each caste, the breach of which would bring dreadful punishment upon guilty relatives who in their craving for ostentation should use rites or materials for the accessories allotted to a higher caste. These rules are at times infringed and it becomes the source of malicious gossip if a family use a cow instead of a lion to burn their deceased, or if they have more roofs in their tower than is their right. In a few cases the right of cremation is denied, as in the death of exiles from the island. Lepers are buried in hidden places and their redemption is carried out by pious persons, secretly and through an effigy.

764 564 [766]

THE BODY

To the Balinese only the soul is really important, the body being simply an unclean object to be got rid of, about which there is no hysteria. Details which would be considered weird and shocking elsewhere are regarded naturally and with great indifference. I have seen a corpse poked, to help it burn, by relatives who were making loud jokes and scolding the body because it would not burn quickly enough, so they could go home.

764

When a man dies, his relatives, near and far, are expected to assemble and bring presents of food to the immediate family of the deceased. It is believed that the ghost of the dead man will bring them bad luck if they are not informed within three days. Automatically all relatives of the dead man become impure, *sebel*, and cannot enter the temples until the complete purification rites have been performed. This impurity extends to the house and even to the entire village, and the higher the position of the dead one, the greater the degree of uncleanliness of the village.

[777]

A sign of death in a house is the lamp called *damar kurung*,

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764 porting three gradually receding platforms — the mountains,
772 with bunches of paper flowers and leaves on the corner of each platform to represent the forests. Then comes an open space, the *balé balean*, "rather like a house," the space between heaven and earth. This consists of four posts backed with a board on one side, and with a protruding platform to which the bodies

[532]

are fastened. The *balé balean* is topped by a series of receding
764 roofs like a pagoda to represent the heavens. These are always
● [564] in odd numbers which vary according to the caste of the family: one for Sudras, from three to eleven for the aristocracy, and none for the Brahmanic priests. The back of the tower is nearly cov-
[776] ered with a gigantic head of Bhoma, the Son of the Earth, a wild-eyed, fanged monster with enormous outstretched wings that spread some ten feet on each side of the tower. This mask and the wings are covered with bright-coloured cotton-wool. As many as seventy-five men are often required to carry the great tower and its complementary bridge, a tall bamboo runway by which the upper stages of the tower are reached. (See Note B, page 386.)

564 Strict caste rules also dictate the shape of the *patulangan*, the
764

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sarcophagi: Sudras are entitled only to burn their dead in open cases shaped like a *gadjamina*, a fantastic animal, half elephant, half fish. Today the majority of the nobility use the bull for men and the cow for women, animals supposedly once reserved for Brahmanas; Satrias were entitled only to a *singha*, a winged lion; and Wesias used the deer. Towers and coffins are not made by ordinary villagers but by artist specialists who are directed by a master craftsman. The cows are splendidly carved out of wood, the hollow body hewn out of a tree-trunk, the back of which opens like a lid. The whole animal is covered with coloured felt or velvet, lavishly ornamented with goldleaf, cotton-wool, and silk scarfs. Caste again decides whether the animal should be black, white, spotted, yellow, orange, or purple. With true Balinese playfulness, their sexual organs are clearly defined and those of bulls often are made so that they can be put into action by means of a hidden string.

From dawn of the day of the cremation the house teems with excited people attending to the last details; the hosts wait on the notable guests, the women see to the offerings, hordes of half-naked men proceed to uncover the towers and the sarcophagi and bring them to the front of the house gate. Delegations are sent to the cremation grounds to put the final touches on the bamboo altars and on the platforms of tightly packed earth, roofed with coloured paper and tinsel, where the corpses will be cremated.

When everything is ready and the guests have been served with their final banquet, the village *kulkul* is beaten to start the march to the cremation grounds; the way to the tower is cleared of evil influences by sprinklings of holy water, and a great fire is often made to prevent rain during the day. Eventually the corpses are taken out, not through the gate, but over a bridge or through a hole knocked out somewhere in the house walls. The groups of men in loincloths that carry the bodies are greeted with fireworks, and handfuls of *kepengs* are scattered, as a traditional custom and not because the people actually believe the evil spirits to be interested in pennies.

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lies a plank smeared with oil, which is pushed out a little over the fire as soon as the time for the leap draws near. There is a door at the end of the bridge that is not removed until the last minute. The victim sits in the house on the bridge, accompanied by a female priest and by her relatives. . . . Then she makes her toilet; her hair especially is combed, the mirror used, and her garments newly arranged; in short, she arrays herself exactly as she would for a feast. Her dress is white, her breasts are covered with a white Slendang (scarf); she wears no ornaments, and after the preparations to which she has been subjected, her hair at the last moment hangs loose. When the corpse of the prince was almost consumed, the three Belas got ready; they glanced one towards another to convince themselves that all was prepared; but this was not a glance of fear, but of impatience, and it seemed to express a wish that they might leap at the same moment. When the door opened and the plank smeared with oil was pushed out, each took her place on the plank, made three Sembahs (reverences) by joining her hands above her head, and one of the bystanders placed a small dove upon her head. When the dove flies away the soul is considered to escape. They immediately leaped down. There was no cry in leaping, no cry from the fire; they must have suffocated at once. One of the Europeans present succeeded in pushing through the crowd to the fire and in seeing the body some seconds after the leap — it was dead and its movements were caused merely by the combustion of the materials cast upon the flames. On other occasions, however, Europeans have heard cries uttered in leaping and in the first moments afterwards. . . .

"During the whole time from the burning of the prince till the leap of the victims, the air resounded with the clangour of numerous bands of music; small cannon were discharged and the soldiers had drawn up outside the fire and contributed to the noise by firing off their muskets. There was not one of the 50,000 Balinese present who did not show a merry face; no one was filled with repugance and disgust except a few Europeans whose only desire was to see the end of such barbarities."

It was only the wives of princes that were thus sacrificed; the Brahmanas did not consider it necessary for the redemption of

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764 their wives, and the common people were not interested in a
762 practice that was foreign to them. There were two sorts of
[564] widow-sacrifice: one reserved for noblewomen, the *mesatia* (" truth," " fidelity "), in which the noble widows stabbed themselves as they jumped into the same fire with their dead husbands; the other, for the prince's low-caste wives and concubines, the *mebela* (" to die together with the master "), the one described by Friederich, which consisted in jumping into another fire apart to be burned alive. A woman who died in *mesatia* became a *Satiawati*, " The True One," a deity.

[775]

From the time their decision was made, the widows were regarded as already dead and deified. They lived a life of constant pleasures, exempt from all duties and constantly attended by the other wives. Their feet were not supposed to touch the impure ground and, like goddesses, they were carried everywhere, lavishly dressed and half-entranced. A Brahmanic priestess was constantly at their side, encouraging them to their sacrifice with flowery descriptions of the beauties of life among the gods. Friederich tells that when the time came, they were so thoroughly hypnotized that " they jumped into the fire as if it were a bath."

However shocking this practice may seem to us, it is not difficult to understand why it was acceptable to the Balinese; the
762 cult to understand why it was acceptable to the Balinese; the
764 scriptures not only sanctioned it, but even encouraged the sacri-
775 fices, and to the victims it was a short cut to attain the higher spiritual state ever so much more important than their insignificant physical life on this earth. Both the early Dutch narrative and Friederich make it clear that no compulsion was used and that the women to be sacrificed had to make their decision by the eighth day after their husband's death. They could neither withdraw nor volunteer later.

[648] The Dutch did all that was in their power to stamp out this
178 practice and set a strict prohibition on widow-sacrifices. The last
764 official cremation in which a woman was burned took place just
762 after the conquest of South Bali; we were present, however, at a cremation in Sukawati at which we were told by a reliable in-

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765 greatest of all the funeral ceremonies, the consecration of the soul, is the mukur, when the deceased is symbolized by an object called a "blossom," by means of which the ceremonies are performed.

The mukur takes place forty-two days after the cremation and consists in offerings and magic incantations by the high priest, meritorious acts to help the travelling soul to attain its highest goal, the heaven allotted to it by caste, and to predispose the supreme judges to overlook minor sins and be lenient. There [772] are various heavens, each on a higher and higher level, the stages of the cosmic meru, symbolized by the temple pagodas and by the [564] cremation towers. Each heaven is dedicated to one of the castes: the highest is of course for the Brahmana Siwa, the next for the Brahmana Budda, and the lower ones for the Satrias and Wesias. The common people have to be content to go to the swarga, the purgatory where they enjoy a perfect life in pure Balinese earthly fashion.

The mukur ceremony is extremely complicated, but is, in a way, so similar to the cremation itself that a detailed description of it would only result in a repetition of the ceremonies already described. The same guests are entertained, similar offerings and accessories are made, the same priests are engaged, and a second tower (bukur) is constructed, this time tall and slender and entirely decorated in white and gold. Again many orchestras and troupes of actors are engaged and pretentious banquets of turtle and roast pig are served.

Great stages raised high above the ground are built at the house for offerings and for the priest. The altars are higher and more beautifully decorated than ever, the devil offerings more elaborate than before, and the participants wear their best clothes and jewellery, the women adding a band of white cloth and a little fan of white paper worn on the head as a symbol of the purity of the occasion. The ceremonies begin by the making of new effigies identical to the adegans used for the cremation, which are given life, blessed, purified by the priest, and then

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105 and theatre, is still one of those amazing nations that we shall never know again, one of the so-called primitive countries. It is obvious that the Balinese are by no means a primitive people, although we use the term to differentiate our own material civilization from the native cultures in which the daily life, society, arts, and religion form a united whole that cannot be separated into its component parts without disrupting it; the cultures where spiritual values dictate the mode of living.

Perhaps of even greater importance than the fascinating artistic development, and, in all probability, the factor that motivated the artistic impulse of the population, is the unique manner in which they have solved their social and economic problems. Bali presents the amazing spectacle of a compact nation of over one million hard-working, cultured people living in a deeply-rooted, well-co-ordinated form of agrarian socialism, that has, perhaps because of its elemental directness, until recently, minimized the social and economic evils that today afflict the less fortunate rest of the world. The primitive Balinese socialism flourished parallel to mediæval feudalism despite five centuries of domination by an aristocracy that with all its ruthlessness could not break down the inherent unity and co-operativism of the Balinese communities.

105 The nobility met with insurmountable passive resistance to any encroachments upon the autonomy of the villages and had 564 finally to content themselves with the collection of tribute from 648 their "vassals." The common people tolerated the princes, but even today they consider them as total outsiders and in most social and administrative matters the villages remain entrenched against all interference from the noble landlords, now appointed as go-betweens between the people and the Dutch Government, [651] mainly to the same office to which the threat of boycott reduced them in the past — the collection of taxes.

105 We have seen that the Balinese are fanatics about organiza- 575 tion. From childhood to old age a Balinese joins all sorts of societies, from the clubs of "virgin" boys and girls, of actors,

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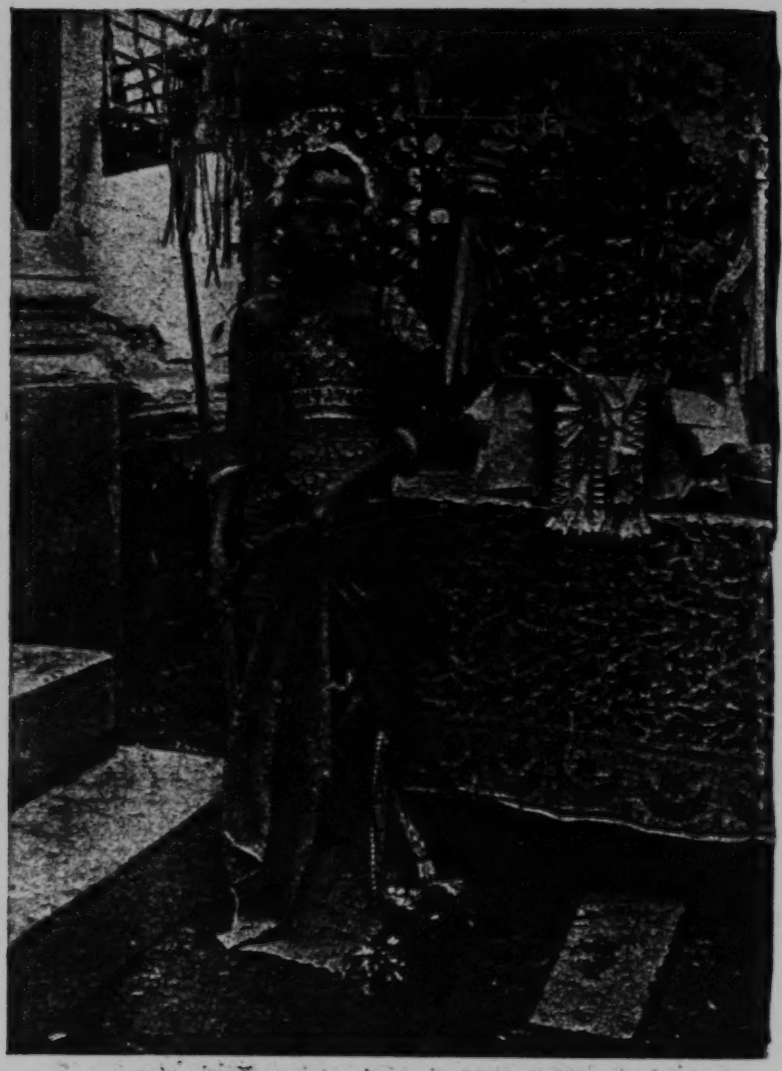

[286]

In a coming-of-age costume of gold brocade, with beaten gold headdress, a Brahmana girl stands by an appropriate offering of fried rice paste, in bright-coloured shapes of animals and gods

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A pedanda bodda, high priest of a Buddhist sect, who prays with a badjra, a symbolic thunderbolt of bronze, instead of flowers. Below him in the picture, as he is in caste, the lowly pemangku is nevertheless of greater importance in the temple and is essential to the ritual, which the high priests are not

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[782] [651] man happens to have on his land a surplus of bamboo, and to be short of coconuts or rice, he can arrange with the keeper of the accounts to substitute this commodity to the value of his contribution. A record is [212] kept, scratched upon a leaf of *tal* palm, of all contributions and defaults, both in work and in kind, and cumulative fines are imposed upon all [688] who do not do their share. The temple as a rule possesses some funds, chiefly profits from the temple lands (*labaan*) which are under the [1993] custody of the priest guardian, or *pemangkoe*. He makes a living from them, but all members of the temple have an equal share in the produce over and above his portion. If the produce has been divided and distributed among them earlier in the season, they are required to make up in money or in kind the value of their shares, as the needs of the temple festival have first claim upon these riches.

793 The temple priests who are the guardians of these temples have not studied as have the Brahmana high priests, the *pedanda*, who are often [569] scholars and learned men. The temple priest may be drawn from any caste, Brahmana, Ksatrya, Vesya, or Soedra (Sudra), depending upon the population and caste distribution in the various villages. They are for the most part Soedra, and their office is not a particularly high one, not, for example, of anything like the importance of that of the *klian dèsa*, head, or literally, elder, of the village. They possess written instructions for the giving of offerings, the prayers, and the course the 212 festival is to follow. These contain long minutely specified listings of the offerings for the festival and of the prayers, in the "old language," [191] known as *kawi*, in the current High Balinese, and some few fragments [1077] of corrupt but still recognizable verses in Sanskrit. Many of these appear to be taken from the Vedas, and the term used in Bali for the high priest's praying is the verbal noun formed from the root *veda*, *meweda*. To these untutored temple priests the meaning of the Sanskrit fragments is frequently lost, and they content themselves with the repetition of them and the copying out of the texts every generation or so when the palm-leaf books begin to wear out. For this reason the errors which have crept into the versions preserved by the temple priests are very numerous, words and sometimes whole lines are lost, and phonetic changes occur which do not follow any rule, but are merely accidental and influenced to some extent by the pronunciation of similar words (often with quite different meanings) in current Balinese. It is a matter of some amazement to contemporary Sanskrit scholars that they are able today to identify any of the sacred texts which have been so care-

[636] [936] means string, in Sanskrit as well, and from this term the word *s'tali*, meaning one string, is derived. In the prescriptions for offerings written on *lontar* (*tal*) palm the amount of money was always given in Chinese cash, as 33, 66, etc., but during the years of our study the Dutch silver coins could be substituted.

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He poured the libations with the formula: 796*

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara katoeran sarining sadjeng sari, sadjeng djamboel, sadjeng rateng, lenga wangi boerat wangi. 793 [539]

3:00 a.m. At three o'clock he placed the *tjanang* on the ground (*ngeloearang tjanang*) and made a last reverence to the gods. Then he lay down on one of the offering stands and went to sleep. 782

All the pavilions in the temple were crowded to overflowing with people — men, women, children, old people, and gay young blades, curled up on the floor of the buildings sound asleep, or sitting up in a valiant effort to keep awake on this the last of a series of wakeful nights. The gayest of all were the young people, the unmarried girls who had been dancing, and who were still dressed in their elaborate costumes, the flowers slightly awry in their hair, and the young men who had been playing the *gamelan*, and now continued to whang on the instruments in a desultory way. To these young people it seemed to be an occasion stimulating to the senses — for every one knows that it is forbidden to "play about" in the temple.[1] The boys followed with their eyes the more attractive girls, to see where they found a corner to wedge themselves in and lie down — hoping to maneuver for themselves a position not too far away. There was much good-natured calling back and forth of allusions, interrupting the voice of the *sinoman* as he read out the roll-call, to be sure that on this night every household was represented in the temple. 796* [883] [533] [688]

While the lamps burned brightly, and the voices called from one pavilion to the next, one by one they dropped off to sleep.

This spending the night in the temple is called *tangkil*, the word used for "coming into the presence of" a noble. One hears a young girl ask another, "Are you going to *tangkil* tonight?" The word *tangkil* also refers to the crouching position assumed by a person of lower caste in the presence of his superior to do him honor. Applying this term to spending the night in the temple therefore suggests that it is one more way of doing honor to the gods. On the night of the *odalan* proper and the night of *njimpen* (putting away) the entire group of representatives is supposed to remain, so that it is not necessary, as on the intervening nights and the nights preceding the *odalan*, to appoint watchmen. [576] [564]

Dawn of the Fourth Day (Njimpen, continued)

5:00 a.m. As soon as it began to be light, people started to call out, "There's already a brightness in the east. Get up! Get up!" (*Soeba galang kangin! Bangoen! Bangoen!*). The priest awoke, and asked the

[1] The fine is 500 képèngs for sleeping next to a woman. The priest said that for actual misbehavior the penalty would be to take down the entire building and to carry the earth on which it stood down to be cast into the sea. [688]

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CHAPTER ONE

Balinese Society

To write of Bali, of Balinese society, is not like writing of a primitive society. It is not like a simple piece of whole cloth, to work out the pattern of which it would be sufficient to study the various strands and their interweaving. Balinese society has a number of patternings, which are overlayed upon each other, which are often conflicting, often confusing to the observer for the inconsistencies they necessarily entail. There are no simple, forthright rules which are consistently held to from village to village; there are no hard and fast boundaries of conduct and belief separating off one caste division from another, one social stratum from another, one status from another. It is a society which is both segmented and stratified—and yet to apply to it classificatory terms invented for the description of industrialized western Europe would be meaningless, even misleading. Likewise, to expect to be able to derive from the data on the structure and function of any single group, a geographical unit, a caste unit, a temporal grouping, general principles which would apply throughout the whole, as we could reasonably hope to do for a primitive society, would be equally meaningless and perhaps even more misleading.

There is nonetheless in the Balinese social picture a very definite character, a special Balineseness, which, I believe, carries through the culture at all levels and in all the varieties of its patternings. It is with this character that we are concerned, its psychological makeup, its cultural makeup, its historical antecedents, its ecological setting. To place what is to be said in its social context, it will be necessary first to sketch the nature of the Balinese society.

In Bali today, we can distinguish a number of levels of development, which, though they refer to different periods of the past, coexist in the present. They illustrate, as it were, different strata in the social and historical process. Thus one can still find in the remote mountain areas village communities which bear a strong resemblance to the known patterns of Old Indonesian community organization, common in the simpler cultures throughout the archipelago. One finds throughout Bali named, hereditary guild-caste membership (*pandé*, smith; *pasek*, warrior or guardian), which,

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121 114 [564] It is assumed, antedates the introduction of the Hindu four caste system. The three top castes of the Hinduistic system, Brahmana, Satrya, and Vesya, maintain a feudal order of their own in the areas which they inhabit, referring to the rest of the population as *djaba*, outsiders.[1] At the time of the Dutch conquest in 1906 Bali was ruled by seven kings, called *radja* or [643] *dalem*, who made war upon each other or formed alliances, whichever seemed more to their interest.

564 Up until the time of the Japanese conquest, in 1942, there had been almost no talk of the abolition of caste, and this only in the towns, Boeleleng [563] and Den Pasar, where Javanese, Arabs, so called "Bombay" merchants, and the Chinese formed a mixed population. Today, contemporaneously with the friction in political circles centering in Java, there appears to carry through a certain continuity in the role of caste and its significance in the society. At the present time the head of the eastern division of the govern- [559] ment, whose seat is in Macassar, Celebes, is a Balinese of the very highest princely rank, a *tjokorda;* a man who was educated in Holland, speaks 635 Dutch and English perfectly, has a French wife, and was before the war [647] the representative for Bali at the people's parliament, the *Volksraad*, at Batavia, Java.

175 648 The history of the relations of Bali with Java, and through Java with the rest of Indonesia, can be summed up as follows.

[643] *11th century.* The century is marked by the first recorded intermarriage of the royal houses of Java and Bali. King Erlangga, famed in legend, was the son of a Javanese princess and a Balinese *radja*. Through his mother he inherited the Javanese kingdom of Kadiri, [193] which afterward split. Sivaite and Buddhist priesthoods were strong at this time, and, according to legend, the holy men were able to cross over the narrow straits between Java and Bali "riding on a leaf." However this may be, it is clear that communications were established at this time.

14th century. The great kingdom of Madjapahit in Java included Bali. When this kingdom fell before the advance of the Mohammedans, refugees from the top level of the Javanese social structure crossed over to Bali. Priests, princes, courtiers, skilled artisans, artists, musicians, dancers, all the literate and the wise who could be saved, escaped to Bali and set up there the stronghold of Hinduism which has resisted Islamization and Christianization down to the present day. In Bali "Madjapahit" is a word to conjure with; everything which is traditionally held in high esteem is referred to as Madjapahit, or

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center in the island of Celebes, setting up the Balinese prince, Tjokorda Soekawati, at its head and giving him the most skillful and highly trained administrative advisers as assistants. Under this system the complex society of Bali continues to function more or less unchanged, the village autonomy is maintained, the customary law carries through from the past.

Land Ownership. The basic unit of Balinese society, the village unit, has a number of forms, each of which may be referred to a period of history at which, we assume, the form as we find it today was common. The village communities fall into three main types.[2]

1. The old style villages, known as *Bali Aga* villages, show to a greater or less extent Old Indonesian patterns of social organization. Here there is no caste. Generally there is a dual organization, headed by old men. Arrangements for superannuation are provided for in the *adat* (customary law). These villages, comparatively small, follow the pattern most usual for a community of any size or type in Bali: a central compact village divided into individual house courts, and beyond the village outlying fields which are worked by the individual families.

2. In other village communities one or more of the three upper castes are represented, while the majority of the population is casteless. The proportion may run 2 or 3 per cent people with caste to 98 or 97 per cent casteless, or it may be as much as 20 or 30 per cent composed of high caste families, with correspondingly fewer of the ordinary, casteless Balinese making up the total. The ranking village members may be of Brahmana, Satrya, or Vesya caste. The casteless refer to themselves as *Anak Bali* (Balinese people) and as "followers" or "subjects" of the dominant families.

3. Towns are made up of people of caste, the casteless, and foreigners. Generally a town is the capital of the district, seat of the regional government and the palace of the local prince. It is distinguished from the usual village by a street of foreign owned shops and a larger, better supplied market.

It is customary to subdivide communities of all three of these types into *bandjars*, equivalent to wards in American cities or to the Mexican *barrios*. These *bandjars* are spatial divisions, each with a character and a name of its own. They are held together rather loosely as to social organization but linked with many kinship ties, religious ties (being members of the same village temple, for example) and very often by dramatic, dancing, and

[2] For a discussion of the importance of the village community in the whole Indonesian area see *Adat Law in Indonesia* by B. ter Haar edited with an introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller.

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music clubs formed by the villagers. Roughly speaking, the larger the village or town, the greater the strength of the *bandjar* unit as a collective unit; and the smaller the village or town, the stronger the village or community unit (*desa* or *kota*) of which the relatively small number of *bandjars* make up the constituent parts. To give a more concrete instance, in a village of 1000, of which 500 belong to one *bandjar* and 500 to another, it is the village unit which is of primary importance and the *bandjar* unit of secondary importance. In a city of 10,000, which may be subdivided into twenty odd *bandjars*, it is the *bandjar* unit which functions cooperatively, whose members act together.

In such groups, artistic skill and ability override caste divisions. Leadership is shunned in favor of a more equalitarian regime. Satrya prince and Brahmana priest take part as equals with the rest of the village group in staging performances, rehearsing new plays or new musical compositions. Their official functions are, in these situations, laid aside.

Village groups can and do act as a unit, sharing responsibility. In one instance which I witnessed a village group had apprehended a stranger, an escaped criminal for whom an alarm had been sent out. When the man resisted, the villagers, whether wittingly or unwittingly, killed him, and every man of the village struck this stranger a blow so that when the authorities came to investigate all would be guilty together, or none.

The "head" of a village group is often merely an intermediary who represents the village to the higher authority, which may be regarded by the people as either the feudal authority of the caste system or that of some alternative system. For administrative purposes the regional divisions have not changed; the ancient kingdoms were perpetuated under Dutch rule as districts, and, after the period of the Japanese occupation, they remain the same.

In the village unit, as in the larger administrative units, there is a tendency to regard the "headship" as hereditary, and a man who has been *kapala kampoeng* (Malay, head of compound) or *prebekel* (village official) is often succeeded by his son or a younger brother, not because the office is something to be desired but because the family concerned are assumed to have the "know how" in dealing with the "higher ups." Even in some of the old style villages like Tenganan which preserve many features of Old Indonesian organization, the family of the *prebekel*, without Hinduistic caste, maintains an hereditary authoritarian position in dealing with the outside world, and this, no doubt, has been a strong factor in the preservation of the old ways into modern times.

The most usual pattern of land ownership is, as a result of the strong

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thus only the ancestral temple of the ruling *radja's* ancestors, to whom the villagers owe allegiance, or of the ancestors of some former king, to whom their ancestors owed allegiance. Through the Hinduistic background of their princes the people have received the heritage of Hinduism. But it is rather a thin layer spread over their older religious practices and beliefs. The names of the chief deities of Hinduism, Siva, Brahma, Vishnu, Iswara, are known to them and are heard in the priestly formulas and in prayers the priests recite, but they are not, even after 500 years, very closely held in the hearts of the people, they are not endowed with personalities, not intimately prayed to. On the other hand, the prescribed ceremonials and the regular, calendric giving of offerings to propitiate the gods are very strictly held to. The way the temple membership is set up in the village organization, it is impossible, and unthinkable, to abstain from participation in the calendric services.

The abode of the gods is the sacred mountain of Bali, the Goenoeng Agoeng. The god of this mountain is a male, and his wife is the sacred lake, the Danau Batoer. The mountain is thought of both as a god and as a site, the home of the Hinduistic gods, who return there after they have been down to manifest their presences in the temples at the time of festival. There is in Hindu mythology, too, a sacred mountain, Mount Meru, on which is situated the Heaven of Indra, *Swarga*. This Hinduistic Olympus is placed by European scholars as originally "some mountain north of the Himalayas."[1] It is characteristic of Balinese Hinduism that the Balinese mountain, Goenoeng Agoeng, should have become identified with Mount Meru, that, in fact, the whole sacred function of the mythological mountain of the Hindus should have been transposed to Bali and set down, as it were, on the site of the center and peak of Balinese holiness.

Priestly functions. In the old style villages the priestly functions are fulfilled by the old, top ranking men, the *kebajan* and *kebaoe*, in the dual organization, and occasionally by a *balian*, a priest or priestess, who may be a member of the village or called from outside the village. *Balians* are knowledgeable, have a store of rituals and formulas chiefly borrowed from the Hinduistic and Buddhistic ceremonial, and often practice by going into trance in order to ascertain the gods' will. They may serve, alternatively, for curing the sick, finding lost objects, setting up communications with the other world by divining the gods' will or by impersonating them. Another sort of specialist who may be called in is the *sengguhu* priest, also casteless except as regards the older guild castes, who derives his title from the conch

[1] Dowson, 1928, "Mount Meru."

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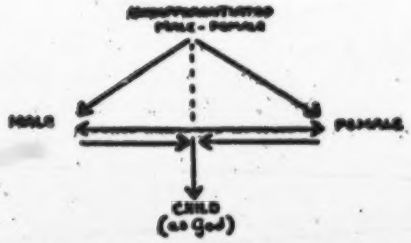

FIGURE 3. CHART INDICATING REESTABLISHMENT OF THE POLARITY AND EMERGENCE OF THE CHILD AS GOD.

elements, is like a god, and a god is like a child. It is the descendant, in a straight line, from the undifferentiated male female element, which will again divide as either its male or its female potential is realized.

Thus the whole picture could be schematized in this fashion.

The crossing of sex roles (there are in Bali both male and female transvestites) is one of the possibilities afforded by the culture. There is a definite high valuation placed upon the godly figure which combines the characteristics of both sexes, Sang Hyang Toenggal, The Solitary, or Tjintija, who preceded the separation of male and female in Balinese cosmology. He is, in time, before all the gods, before Siva, Brahma, and Vishnu. And, as each such god is in Bali, he is thought of as Man and Wife (*lanangistri*, or, Sanskrit *ardhanarisvara*).[6]

The complementary principle is stated and restated. Through the union of male and female, a child is created. The child, however, is once more of uncertain sex—at least up until birth. It is, so to speak, in a direct line of descent from Sang Hyang Toenggal for it contains the potentialities of both the sexes. The most godlike infants are male and female twins, said to be *ardhanarisvara*, man and wife, already married in the womb. Such twins are magically dangerous and make the village unclean (*sebel*) if they are born to people of low caste. For people of high caste they are a good sign for the boy is born like a god; he brings his wife with him out of the womb; he marries his sister. In this, the Balinese boy and girl twins repeat the theme of the Balinese legendary "original couple" who came together out of a coconut blossom.[7]

[6] Radhakrishnan, speaking of Hinduism in India, says, "Marriage is regarded as sacred. The very gods are married. When the Hindu descends from the adoration of the Absolute and takes to the worship of a personal god, his god has always a consort. He does not worship a bachelor or a virgin. Siva is *ardhanarisvara*, and his image signifies the cooperative, interdependent, separately incomplete but jointly complete masculine and feminine functions of the supreme being" (Radhakrishnan, 1927).

[7] Belo, 1935.

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the *rajă* (*mamadă rajă dalĕm*) to have children in this way.

But Sukawană is a Bali-agă village, where the Hindu religion has never quite penetrated, where no high caste people have ever lived, and every man is born the equal of his fellow. I Lèwèr, the father of the Sukawană twins, said he was pleased when they were born, as a father always is to get a child. But his pleasure was offset and counterbalanced by the great trouble of their being boy and girl, for that meant a big expense to him. At the *mĕcharu* for the purification of the village he must provide a *kĕbo* (water-buffalo), a calf, and a pig to be sacrificed. The many offerings which must be made, the quantities of rice and coconuts and fowls would be at his expense, except for the contributions of his fellow-members in the Balé Agung. The village law decrees that each man must help the poor (*lachur*) father with gifts according to his means, but all that is not given falls to the share of the father, and he alone is responsible for the complete array of the offerings. I Lèwèr also loses his house, already torn down, for at the end of the forty-two days the *kubu* constructed from its materials must be burned to the ground. And all his possessions, his mats, his clothes, and those of his wife, must be burned also, or cast away into the river, so that nothing may remain which has been connected with the uncleanness of the birth of the twins.

But I Lèwèr was not ashamed. He said: "I am troubled (*sĕbĕt*), but I am not ashamed (*lĕk*)". He knew only that the big ceremony must take place to avert disaster from the village. He opened his eyes wide with surprise when we asked if he had heard that this was the Rajă's way to have children. "No", he answered, "I have never heard it".

We asked if people say that the twins are already married in the womb of the mother. I Lèwèr answered, "I do not know". And the old men sitting by said: "How can they, they are so small!"

But it was known in the village that if both children survived, they might, if they so wished when they grew up, marry each other.

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On the ninth day the boy-twin died. He was buried in the graveyard. The graveyard of Suhawanã has five divisions, running from *kajã*, nearest the mountains, to *kĕlod*, nearest the sea. The highest place, near the mountains, is reserved for young children who died before losing their first tooth (*tondèn mĕkĕtus*). The lowest place is for those who have died an unnatural or wrong death, who have died in an accident or taken their own lives (*salah patì*). The boy-twin was buried in the highest place. Alone amongst all the bodies those of the little children *tondèn mĕkĕtus* do not have to be later dug up and cremated. For cremation is a purification, and the little children have not yet any sins. This twin child, then, was not wrong nor sinful in himself.

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powerful through holiness', *sĕkti* (çakti), and the word *tĕngĕt* is applied to things and places fearful in appearance or charged with evil power, such as the witch *Rangdã*, or the placenta of a new born child, or graveyards, certain temples, trees, and bridges where supernatural manifestations are frequent. The Balinese have no abstract conception of magic, and they do not suspect that many of their customs and religious practices are considered by Europeans as forms of magic. Therefore it seems incorrect in trying to render the Balinese thought to bring in a concept which, though familiar to the observer, is foreign to Balinese thought. A woman Pĕmangku told me that she might never enter a house, even of her nearest relatives, during the three days after the birth of a child, for she who was in charge of the temple, where the gods are *sĕkti*, might not come in contact with that which is *sĕbĕl*. Relatives are *sĕbĕl* after a death in the family, and a woman at the time of menstruation. The high caste woman is for three days banished from the *puri* of the princes, and literally imprisoned in a special court. The Sudrã woman at this time may not sleep upon the same *balé* as her husband, although she bathes in the river and cooks his food. She may not enter the temples or the *sanggah* (household shrine). In the village of Sayan it is said that the goddess Durgã must leave the temple once a month, when she is *sĕbĕl*, and take up her place in the graveyard, where she may be given offerings at what is known as the throne of Prajãpati. (A mystic explained that Prajãpati is really a woman in the form of a man.) From these examples it will be seen that the word *sĕbĕl* means unclean in the sense of "dirty" and in the religious and mystical sense of "impure", but in the Balinese mind there is no direct and conscious connection of the *sĕbĕl* state with magical weakness.

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*845 184 In nearly all the villages studied the birth of twins of like sex, two boys or two girls, is not *manak salah*, does not require banishment of the family nor special ceremonies of any kind. Exceptions are the old villages of Lumbuan, Bu'ungan, and Taro, where certain ceremonies are prescribed, and Trunyan and Kětèwèl [1]), where the twins and their parents are also banished from the village. Such twins are called *anak kĕmbar*, whether or not they are considered a bad sign.

*845 184 564 582 [787] Although according to some lontars only members of the ruling Satryă or Wésyă family, and the families of Brahman priests, escape being branded *manak salah* if they bring forth boy and girl twins, and although a Bulèlèng lontar states it to be a bad sign for people of all the four castes, in nearly all the villages of South Bali it is only considered a bad sign if Jabă [2]) (ordinary people, Sudra's) have twins who are a boy and a girl, and a good sign if Triwangsă (people of Brahman, Satryă or Wésyă caste) have such twins. They are called *anak kĕmbar bunching* [3]), which means "twins bride and bridegroom". Among ordinary people it is known that such twins may marry. Everywhere I was told this, by all sorts of people. But a Brahman scholar and holy man, Idă Putu Maron of Ubud, stated that Jabă twins may not marry each other, because they are *salah* [4]). On the other hand, it is a very good sign if high caste twins marry each other.

*845 [554] 184 582 In the present generation of the princely Chokordă family of Ubud there are such twins who did not marry each

[1]) In Kětèwèl a special reason exists. See later, page 528.

[2]) According to estimate the Jabă are 94 %, the Triwangsă 6 %, of the population of Bali. The population is supposed to be approximately a million.

[3]) VAN DER TUUK's Dictionary has *buñching* = bride and bridegroom. Note also that current high Balinese for "to marry" is *mĕkaryă pĕbunchingan*.

[4]) Although the Balinese are supposed to follow the dictates of the Hindu priests, it often happens that the common people go their own way without consulting the priest. When they are at variance with the Hindu custom as strictly held by the Triwangsă, the priest excuses them, saying paternally, "They do not know". [183]

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other, because, the boy said, if he had married his sister he would not have been allowed to take any other wives, and although he was pleased with her, he did not care to commit himself to having only one spouse throughout his life. 845* 184 582

In Batuan twins of a "small Satryă" family, whose titles are Déwă Gĕdé and Déwă Ayu, married each other and were happy for two years. Then a powerful man of higher rank (Satryă caste, Chokordă) stole away Déwă Ayu from her twin-husband. Both the young twin-husband and the father of the twins seemed distressed at this arbitrary breaking of the intended order. [586] [564]

These twins were brought up in the same house. But people often say that it is better if the children can be separated when they are small, so that they will be pleased to wed when they meet again at the marriageable age. A member of the Sĕngguhu caste (classed as Jabă, but on account of their priestly functions often considering themselves as good as Brahmans) told me that the twins should be placed as far apart as possible, for instance one in Bulèlèng and one in Badung (Dèn Pasar). He said "When twins are a boy and a girl, it is called *manak salah*, and people say that the boy brings his wife with him out of the womb, and therefore is like a god. The village in which it occurs becomes unclean, the subsequent *galungan* may not be celebrated in the village. Afterward the largest *mĕcharu* must be held to purify the village before it can take part in the *galungan* festivals. The people of the village are very angry when such twins are born. 845* 564 184 591

"But the mother and the father are very pleased. The legend (*chĕrită*) is that this boy must become king, since he has brought his wife out of the womb, like the kings of old.

"After the time of banishment and the purification, the boy and the girl are separated while they are still very small, and placed in houses as far apart as possible, as in Bulèlèng and in Badung. When they have reached the marriageable age, they are brought together and married to one another. It is hoped if the legend comes true and the boy becomes king the wife will bring him power over

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the far-away land where she was reared, and all the land between

"But it is a very rare occurrence that such twins live. Usually either the boy or the girl, or both, die at an early age, and often even the parents die". —

Unfortunately this charming version of the separation is not true all over Bali. Not one of the parents of Jabă twins whom we questioned had heard that this was "to have children like the kings of old". They knew only that it was a bad sign, and a costly one to them. Since it is impossible for a Jabă to become king, and has always been so, the explanation is one which would only occur to the imagination of a proud Sĕngguhu. Later it will be shown to what extent Sĕngguhu's consider themselves exempt from the taboos imposed on all Jabă twins.

In Nyèstanan, a village near Ubud, Jabă twins born twelve years ago were separated by the adoption of the boy into a household in the same village. A year afterward the woman who had taken the boy died suddenly. This was a bad sign. The boy was returned to his parents, for no one else would take him. Now the boy and girl, who are near puberty, state most vigorously that they do not wish to marry each other, since they were brought up as brother and sister.

J. de Vroom, writing more than sixty years ago, mentions as an old custom of forgotten times that *kĕmbar bunching* had to marry each other [1]). I did not find one person, Padandă, prince, or ordinary man, who stated that such marriage was compulsory.

Mr. de Vroom reports also that people say *kĕmbar salah* mostly die. It is curious that in seven cases I investigated one or both twins died before the period of banishment was over. In Taro boy and girl twins have been born three times in the past two years, to unrelated families. In each case the girl has died.

In connection with the frequently reported death of twins

[1]) J. DE VROOM, *Aanteekening uit eene Balische Adversaria. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Batavia, Vol. XVIII.

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Part III.
Divers Points of View, together with some Explanatory Legends.

I have said that the Balinese authorities do not agree. I shall report some of the opinions and stories expressed to me in conversation with various Balinese, priests and educated men and princes, on the subject of twins. This seems to me a good method for approaching the subject as it exists in their minds. The same people might modify or revise their beliefs after referring to the lontars — later we shall take up the information that these contain — but their original statements are more illuminating for grasping their actual living concepts.

Here is the mystical point of view, as presented by a Satryă, Chokordă Ngurah of Ubud: "The word *bunching* means the same as *ardă nari swari* (Skr. ardhanareçvarī), which, applied to the gods, means the male and the female, the god and his wife in one person. As Batară Siwă has only one wife, Giri Putri, but she has many names and forms, according to the different aspects in which she is worshipped (literally: 'the different places where she is seated', *mĕlinggih*). She is called Durgă, Umă, etc. All the gods, Batară Wisnu, Batară Bramă, each has only one wife.

"And so to be born with a wife is to be born as a god, and the twin boy if he marries his twin may have only that one wife, like a god.

"Now it is written that Batară Siwă made all men. First he made Brahmă, and Brahmă made the world, and his children were the four castes, Brahman, Satryă, Wésyă and Sudră. So that all men are in sense the children and descendants of Batară Siwă, and therefore it is possible for them to be born as gods, as *kĕmbar bunching*. But it is only right for people of high caste (Triwangsă) to be born or to have children in that way, and people of Sudră caste are not allowed to have children in that way. If they do, and they can because they also are descendants of Batară Siwă, they are *salah*, and must be purified, together with the village where the disaster occurred.

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„For Triwangsă people it is a sign of prosperity if boy and girl twins are born. The ricefields will yield great plenty and the king and the country will prosper and grow rich.

„For Jabă it is a sign of disaster, pestilence, famine to the land.

„It is a better sign for Triwangsă if the boy is born before the girl. It is a better sign if the children have only one placenta instead of two. For Jabă it is a much more *salah* happening if the boy is born before the girl, and also if there is only one placenta."

(This matter of the placenta has nothing to do with physiological fact. The Balinese have no knowledge or concern over identical and non-identical twins, and they make no difference between a single placenta and two which adhere, appearing as one. The result is that cases of „two placentas" are extremely rare, for they must appear absolutely separately to be considered as two, and most Balinese will say that they have never seen such a thing, many that they did not know of its possibility. However the more erudite Balinese distinguish between a birth with one or two *ari-ari*, although they differ as to which is to be considered the more serious offense).

As a contrast to the high-flown reasoning of Chokordă Ngurah, let us see what a young Brahman, a school teacher, nephew of the Padandă Gĕdé of Bongkasă, has to say:

"The story is that boy and girl twins have had sexual contact in the womb, and the people believe this. They are ignorant, and therefore they are afraid.

"The Rajăs of old were jealous of their own royal rights and customs. For instance, a certain day, as *Rĕdité Manis*, is an excellent day for people of high caste (Triwangsă) to have a cremation. But the Jabă were not allowed to use that day. And so the Jabă do not dare to use it, they are afraid, they say 'it is not a favorable day for us'. If the Rajă wears red, he forbids the Jabă to wear red. And in the same way, as male and female twins are a good sign for the Rajă, they are a very bad sign for the Jabă.

● [564] [764]

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fight over the girl. I have also heard two boys and a girl called *panchoran apit bulakan*, two girls and a boy *bulakan apit panchoran*. These are two sorts of springs, the *panchoran* water coming from above and flowing out of a spout, the *bulakan* water bubbling up from beneath in a hollow rock — obvious male and female symbols.

The people are vague about the significance of triplets, as these are of course rarer in occurrence than twins. In a case of one boy and two girls born about seven years ago in Bongkasă, the people did not know what to do. Although at that time the Prĕbĕkĕl (government headman) of the village was the son of the Padandă, the Padandă apparently could not advise him, so he reported the case to the Punggawă, the head of the district. The Punggawă again reported to the Dutch Controleur, but, as the Prĕbĕkĕl told me , "they did not order anything to be done, so the village did nothing". This exemplifies how much the people still hold in their minds that unusual births are a crime against the Rajă — although they know that the power of the Rajă's is long past, they suppose that the Dutch government will also consider it an affront if anyone has twins or triplets!

Another such case was when five or six years ago boy and girl twins were born in Kabă-Kabă (near Tabanan). The parents happened to be Sĕngguhu people, who, because of their priestly caste (although not of the three higher Hindu castes) considered that they had the right to have such twins and not be *salah*. The village, however, dit not agree, and insisted that the parents provide the ceremony for the purification of the 'country'. As the Sĕngguhu family insisted on their rights, the village brought a formal action against them. The decision was referred from one high official to another until finally it was brought to the Governor General. Meanwhile a year had passed. The villagers took the matter into their own hands, and banished the family from the village for life. The exiled ones moved to Tabanan, where they had relatives who took them in, "for they had known of people with twins who had left out the ceremony".

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fication, a larger *mĕcharu* is given for *anak kĕmbar*, with a dog, a pig, a duck and five chickens as offerings, and a Sĕngguhu officiates with the Padandă. For *anak bunching* only five chickens are offered, and the Pĕmangku assists the Padandă. In neither case do they have the *mĕlis*. 845* [787]

Likewise the caste distinctions are more strict in Kĕtèwèl, for only Brahmans and Rajă Satrya's have the right to have twins, either *kĕmbar* or *bunching*, and all the smaller nobility together with the Jabă are *salah*. The people know, of course, that their taboo on *anak kĕmbar* differs from the custom of the surrounding villages. They say it is because in Kĕtèwèl they have gods which are twins and the others have not. The idea that the figures are representations of ancient kings is unknown to them. But every village may have its own gods in its temples, which are worshipped by the people of that village, and the people of other villages have nothing to do with them. 845* 564

Part IV
What the Lontars say.

One of the Balinese lontars, called Bhagawan Garga, has in part to do with twins. A copy of this lontar was in the possession of a Padandă Siwă in Bangli, another in Gianyar, and a third belonged to the Padandă Bodă of Pĕliatan. All three priests referred to this lontar when questioned about *manak salah* or *kĕmbar bunching*. The story of the one from Bangli may roughly be summarized as follows: 845* 538

This is the story of people with boy and girl twins. 845* 539 1173

The Rajă of Bali goes to meet the holy man, Idă Bagawan Lindu Tawang, in Lĕmah Rĕkă (Lĕmah Tulis). The holy man receives him at his meditation place. The Rajă takes a humble place on the lower level (*pemarĕkan*), but when he has introduced himself as a pupil of Bagawan Sunyă Murti Bali, the holy man welcomes him and leads him inside the palace. Because the Prince has followed the teachings of Bagawan Sunyă Murti Bali, the holy man gives him his daughter in marriage.

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triwangsā people (high caste, Brahman, Satryĕ, or Wĕsyā), and according to the prince in the palace at Tabanan, all those who are not of high caste are *salah*.

That is the end of this unusually full lontar regarding twins. Recently a case of twins born to Chinese people living in Bulĕlèng occasioned discussion of the various customs in the Balinese magazine Bhawanagara [1]). One author recommends the *adat* from Kabă-Kabă, Tabanan, as a good one to be followed, and quotes from a lontar originating there. The quotations are in modern Balinese, but must be taken either from the same lontar which I have summarized, or from a transcription of it, for it agrees on all points with the other text. Although not so full in directions for the ceremonies, the various differences in the births, with their special names, correspond — for one placenta, for a difference in time between the births, for the birth of the boy first, or the girl, for triplets of which two are boys, and triplets of which two are girls, and the same distinction between ordinary people and those of high caste birth. The lontar is very generous in the exemptions from *manak salah* which it allows. Firstly, all high caste people seem to be exempt, not only the king and the high priests as we found before. Then any birth which can be called "single", either because there is only one placenta, or because the children are born with an intervening time period, does not seem to require banishment. And of boy and girl twins, if the boy is born first, it is a good sign — although the last paragraph suggests that this does not hold good for Sudrā's.

A Brahman scholar of Sanur made the following report after consulting the lontars of his Padandă:

If in Bali Sudrā people have twins *manak salah*, it is called *bunching* when the girl is first and the boy comes after. This is said to threaten the safety of the country, and so the children

[1]) *Bhawanagara*, Taboen III, No. 8 (1934). *Pertanja'an tentang adat*. p. 126 and *Indik Manak Salah*, p. 127.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

Neither of these sorts of twins threatens the country. But the lontar says it is just as well to have the ceremony or the *charu*.

And if anyone has three children born at onte, of which two are boys and one a girl, that is called *katiruju (kati-juru* in the Tabanan lontar), and is extremely dangerous to the country, and these children must be set down on the sea-shore. According to custom two of the children are cast away, and then picked up by another person, not their mother. In this case there must be the ceremony *mĕdudus* at the Balé Agung.

And if anyone brings forth one boy and two girls, they do not become *sĕbĕl* and their house is not moved, because in this case, it is said, the country begins to be prosperous and healthy, and diseases will not spread.

This set of rules ma[illegible] apparent gradations in the wrongness of *manak so*[illegible] that the only really evil birth seems to be when t[illegible] caste people a girl is born before a boy and there a[illegible] placentas — except of course in the case of the ver[illegible] unlucky triplets. And the matter of the placentas is not based on physiological fact, for if the two adhere they are considered as one. The obscurities in the texts allow room for interpretation in favor of those concerned. In a case of boy and girl twins born to Jabă people in Sanur last year, the family was not banished, no *mĕcharu* was held, and the villagers did not consider themselves *sĕbĕl*, but continued to go to the temples only because the boy had been born first. The Padandă of Intaran, and the Brahman Balian, who normally should have officiated, did not approve of their omitting the ceremonies, and said that at the latest the people must have a *mĕcharu* during the ninth month (four months after the birth).

A report has been made in the magazine *Bhawanagara* covering the ancient adat of two Bali Agă villages in the district of Bangli, Bu'ungan [1]) and Lumbuan [2]). The an-

[1]) Idă Bagus Adiptă, *Menjelidiki adat-adat koena didésa-desa dalem bilangan negara Bangli. Bhawanagara*, Tahoen III, No. 4-5, 1933.

[2]) Idă Bagus Adiptă, *Menjelidiki adat-adat koena didésa-désa dalem bilangan negara Bangli. Bhawanagara* Tahoen II, No. 8-9, 1933.

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this does not seem to be necessary for the twins of like sex. The ceremony takes place before the house where the disaster occurred, one month and seven days after the event, and includes building the *panggungan* in which *sorohan agung* and a pig are offered, and before this on the ground the chickens of five colors, the duck *bĕlang kalung* (white collared), a dog *bĕlang bungkĕm* (red and black with a white mouth) and a goat, set out in the five directions. Here it is called *mĕcharu*, for the *kală bută* (demons). The Pĕmangku officiates, prayers are made to the gods of the temple Pură Pusĕh Balé Agung, and the Pĕmangku asks for holy water with which to purify the house-court of the disaster and the whole village.

When *anak bunching*, boy and girl twins, are born, it is called *manak salah* for people of Jabă caste. The members of the *banjar* (village-quarter) beat the *kul-kul*, assemble, and remove the parents with the twins and their house to the outskirts of the village, where they must remain a month and seven days. The members of the *banjar* take turns watching over them. But for their food the family with the twins must be themselves responsible.

After one month and seven days, the ceremony for the purification of the village is held, called *mĕsadi*, with offerings for *mĕcharu* including a goat, a goose, a duck, a calf and a dog. They are set out as before, the Pĕmangku officiates, but the holy water is got from the Bujanggă. There are prayers to the gods of the temple Pură Pusĕh Balé Agung, and holy water is asked before the temple Pura Pĕnataran. Here also the people with the twins are purified (*mĕtĕlah-tĕlah*).

After twelve days all the gods of all the temples are carried out to be purified, as far as the boundary of the village to the North and the boundary of the village to the South. This is called *ngĕlungah*.

The expenses of the *mĕsadi* are taken over by the village if the parents of the twins are too poor, but later they must repay the village.

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6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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576 way of life, their social and religious concepts, which hold them to a rigid pattern of what is fitting. In the use of language, as in other 576 matters, definite and complex rules must be followed. The Balinese 191 language, rich in terms with minutely differentiated meanings, is also stratified into words of all levels, which may be roughly sub- 564 divided into High and Low Balinese. Low Balinese is the familiar and current language, used between members of a family and to all friends and intimates, except when there is a disparity of caste between the speakers. A man of low caste must address his social superior in High Balinese, and he will be answered in Low. The matter is further complicated when a man of intermediate caste is being discussed, for the commoner must choose a word in referring to him neither so low as to be insulting to the ears of the noble he is addressing, nor so high as to be discourteous, for the very highest words should be reserved for reference to the noble himself.[6] Special words are to be used only in reference to animals, and to apply one of these lowest words to a man constitutes an unforgiveable insult. Strangers who meet address each other in High Balinese, asking "Whence do you come? Where are you going?," and follow this immediately with a leading question designed to discover the rank of the interlocutor, so that the language appropriate to him may be at once adopted. There is no "farewell" in the language. Visitors must ask their host's permission to depart, and the answer to this request may be either the common "yes," a dismissal, or a choice of a polite word for "go," carrying a courteous inflection because of the relative highness of the word used.

576 Less complex, but equally rigid, rules prescribe the actual way of 516 sitting. Both men and women habitually squat on their heels, and this is the position most readily assumed when anyone stops for a moment what he is doing, either for conversation or for a short rest from hard labor (and it may be noted in passing that the Balinese [961] seem to take, automatically, a rest of five or ten minutes out of every hour of hard work; look at any ten men at work in the sun, and two will be sitting under a tree; half an hour later, two others will be resting). The squatting position may also be held over long periods, in the fulfillment of any task conveniently done on or near the ground, such as the playing of certain musical instruments, or the chopping and hashing of foodstuffs on a wooden block, in prepara-

[171] [6] It is as if we were to choose between the expressions "he has eaten," "he has dined," and "he has partaken of his repast."

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

A STUDY OF A BALINESE FAMILY

By JANE BELO

INTRODUCTORY

OF a people numbering more than a million, divided into castes, into districts which have felt the varying influences of separate dynasties of rulers, and whose religion and social structure appear in all forms from the ancient Bali-Agă to the orthodox order of the Sivaite and Buddhist Pedandas, one would be bold indeed to attempt a study of *the family*. There are no statistics, and generalizations are almost certain to be, in some sense, false. But it is true that more than ninety percent of the Balinese are Sudra, the fourth and lowest Hindu caste, called in Bali djabă,[1] or outsiders. This is to distinguish them from the Brahmana, Satrya, and Wesya, who claim descent from the Hindu-Javanese invaders of Madjapahit, conquerors of the island in the fourteenth century. These djabă are, then, more "insiders" than outsiders, the real Balinese. They are organized into village groups, the desă, each with its council to which belong all married men who are householders. The desă has its individual adat (customary law), functioning quite apart from the laws laid down by the radjas of the past or the present Dutch administration. The village has a sub-organization into two or more bandjars, spatial divisions, each with its own meeting place for the men. The bandjars may once have been divisions of family groups, but now they resemble clubs, which rival each other in gamelan and theatrical performances, whose young men nourish a feud, and whose children dare not cross the invisible line which limits their own bandjar, lest they be set upon by "the other gang." Religion to the djabă means the regular giving of offerings to the spirit of his ancestors, in his own sanggah or household temple; offerings to the gods in the village temples, under the tutelage of the Pemangkoe, a priest also of djabă caste; propitiation of demons and bad spirits, on the roadside before the house,

[1] Throughout this paper I have used the Dutch phonetic spelling for Balinese terms. This is the spelling in current use in Bali, taught in the schools.

dj	is pronounced as j in jam	(djabă)
j	is pronounced as y in yam	(wajan)
nj	is pronounced as ny in canyon	(njoman)
tj	is pronounced as ch in chew	(tjenik)
oe	is pronounced as oo in moon or u in put	(doestă, ketoet)
e	is short unless accented, as in French	(ketoet, madé, metèn)
i	is pronounced as ee in deep	(bibi)
	or as i in tick	(tjenik)
a	is pronounced as in father	(djabă)
final ă	is pronounced as the final a in America	(djabă)

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are intended to be man and wife, even though it is wrong for them to be so connected. At the present time it is rare for such twins to marry, although the banishment and propitiatory ceremonies are still widely practiced.

Curiously enough, it is not considered a wrong for very high-caste people to have such twins. But there are many divergences in the customs of the high-caste Balinese from those of the djabă. In passing it may be mentioned that men of the three higher castes may marry women who are djabă, whereas it is a crime for high-caste women to marry or to have relations with a man of lower caste than their own. Offenders used to be either drowned in the sea or banished to another island. Within the past five years the government was forced to deport a Brahmana woman and a djabă man, who, banished from their own village, were refused admittance to all other villages and towns.

The Balinese lontars, sacred texts written on leaves of the tal palm, describe in full the penalties and atonements for the unusual case in family matters: incestuous unions, birth of twins, seductions, suicides, etc. These are the things that are "not done." But for the things that are done, the customary, everyday occurrences, there are no written rules. That is why I have presented this study of a single family in its intimate relations, with the hope that it will give some picture of the family life running its ordinary course.

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8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

May Thy will be done! The drake [dedicated to] Batara Wisnu; the duck [dedicated to] Batari Sri;
Pecking away the adhering impurities from him who is being purified.[39]

A further reference to the white drake and the cock occurs in the 'Prasasti Pandé', the Codex of the Iron Smiths. Although, according to Hindu concepts, the Iron Smiths were outside the three castes of the twice-born, members of this genealogical group consider themselves as entitled to the making of holy water and even forbidden to ask the *brahman* priest for it. At the conclusion of a ceremony conducted by an *ĕmpu pandé* the drake and the cock perform the same purificatory function as at the conclusion of the ceremony conducted by the *padanda*. An extract from their manual reads:

... thus are all the *ĕtĕh² padudusan* named[40]. Let now drake and cock hungrily peck, *mantra*:
to the drake:
Om! Thou, white eagle, peck away one by one the ills and blemishes of him who is being purified;
to the cock:
Om! Thou who peck'st away the impurities and blemishes of him who is being purified;
sam bam tam am im[41].

As a final example I cite from a text which deals with the elaborate ritual of the purificatory festival Pancha Bali Krama —

to the drake:
Om! Thou, Garuda[42]. He who is being purified dwells in the North-west;[43]
Peck away the defilements from him who is being purified; om um nam[44] nama swaha;
Take away the defilements from him who is being purified;
Fly off to the sea with these defilements;
There these impurities; will be dissolved;
om am ksama-sampurna ya namah swaha[45].

* the Kingdom of the Dead[43]

[39] *sĕbĕl-kandĕlanira sang dinudusan* the same phrase; not included in the Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, but occurring in *Dharma Pawayangan* K 1610 I. 16a.

[40] *Prasasti Pandé* K. 2404 I. 46a; also in a mimeographed edition, 'translated' by I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, Balimas, Denpasar, 1958, pp. 45–46.

[41] The magical *pancâksara*, five letters. Cf. R. Goris, *Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Oud Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie*, doctoral thesis, University of Leiden, 1926. Cf. also Wolfgang Week, *Heilkunde und Volkstum auf Bali* Stuttgart, 1937.

[42] *Puja Pancha Bali Krama*, K. 1186 I. 11a.

[43] In accordance with the orientation of the cardinal points in North Bali, as this text is from that area.

[44] The *tryaksara*, the three letters symbolizing the three principal deities, Brahma, Wisnu, and Iswara; Cf. Goris and Week supra.

[45] Complete forgiveness, hail, hail!

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

293 312 624 region, there are elected chiefs—usually called *klian subak*, as opposed to *klian bandjar*—over the subak, while the higher levels of watershed and river system organization are coordinated by appointed officials of the central government as the heirs of the traditional irrigation and tax officials of the old Balinese kingdoms. But, again, it is primarily the subak as a whole which determines in the light of its inherited traditions, its own policies.

621 312 243 The subak is responsible for the maintenance of its irrigation system, a task involving almost continual labor, for the apportionment of water among members of the subak, and for the scheduling of planting. It levies fines for infractions of rules (stealing water, ignoring planting directives, shirking work, and so on), maintains the subak temples and carries out a whole sequence of ritual activities connected with the agricultural cycle, controls fishing, fodder gathering, duck herding and other secondary activities in the subak, and so on and so forth. In most of the larger subak today the actual irrigation work—the constant repair of dams and canals and the perpetual opening and closing of water gates involved in water distribution—is carried out by only a part of the subak membership, called the "water group," which then receives a money payment from those not so working, the amount again being determined by the subak as [487] a whole. Complex patterns of share tenancy, involved systems of controlled crop rotation, varying modes of internal subak organization, and the increasing efforts by the government water officials to improve inter-subak coordination complicate the whole picture. But everywhere the status of the subak as an independent, self-regulating, corporate group with its own rules and its own purposes remains as unchallenged today as it was in the times of the Balinese kings.

564 554 4. *Commonality of ascribed social status.* The Balinese, like the Indians from whom they have borrowed (and reformulated) so much, have commonly been described as having a caste system. They do, in the sense that social status is patrilineally inherited, that marriage is fairly strictly regulated in terms of status, and that, save for a few unusual exceptions, mobility between levels within the prestige system is in theory impossible and in practice difficult. But they do not in the sense of possessing a ranked hierarchy of well-defined corporate groups, each with specific and exclusive occupational, social, and religious functions all supported by elaborate patterns of ceremonial avoidance and commensality and by a complex belief system justifying radical status inequality. Were the term "caste" not so deeply ingrained in the literature on Bali, it might be less confusing to speak of the Balinese as having a "title system," for it is in terms of a set of explicit titles, passing from father to child and attached to the individual's name as a term both of address and reference, that prestige is distributed.

Following Indian usage, the Balinese divide themselves into four main groups: Brahmana, Satria, Vesia, and Sudra. Since in such a classification more than 90 per cent of the population falls into the fourth category, a more common division for everyday use is made between *Triwangsa* ("the three peoples"), the first three groups taken as a unit, and the *Sudra*, which in a

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

broad and not altogether consistent way corresponds to the gentry-peasantry distinction common to nonindustrial civilizations generally. Each group is then subdivided further in terms of the title system, the actual basis of the individual's rank in the society. Given a sample list of titles—*Ida Bagus, Tjokorda, Dewa, Ngakan, Bagus, I Gusti, Gusti, Gusi, Djero, Gde*—any but the most uninformed Balinese could tell you they were placed in a generally descending order of status, but only a small minority of theorists could tell you that the first was a Brahmana title, the next four Satria, the next three Vesia, and the last two Sudra.* In making status distinctions a man thinks and talks in terms of titles, not in terms of caste.

In general, a man may marry anyone of the same title or lower, a woman anyone of the same title or higher—thus hypergamy. In pre-Dutch times (i.e., before 1906, for South Bali only came under direct Dutch control at the beginning of this century) miscaste marriages were punished by exile or—particularly in the case of a Triwangsa girl and a Sudra man—death. Even today a girl marrying down is commonly "thrown away" by her family, in the sense that she is no longer recognized as kin and all social intercourse between her and her parents ceases. Under modern conditions such breaches often heal after some years have passed, particularly if the mismatch is not too great; but miscaste marriages are in any case very rare even today.

As the number of Triwangsa is so much less than the number of Sudra, status regulation of marriage means that the patterns of affinal connection tend to work out rather differently for the two groups, in that most Triwangsa marriages are hamlet exogamous, i.e., interlocal, while most Sudra marriages are hamlet endogamous, i.e., intralocal. This contrast lifts the horizontally linked Triwangsa up as a supra-hamlet all-Bali group over the highly localized Sudra; a pattern congruent, of course, with the fact that the Triwangsa almost completely monopolized the interlocal, superordinate political and religious roles of the traditional Balinese state structure, as they do today of the Balinese branch of the Indonesian civil service.

The caste (or title) composition of any given hamlet (or temple group, or irrigation society) varies very widely. In one locality one may find representatives of a wide range of titles in a smooth gradient from the highest to the lowest, in another only very high and very low ones, in a third only middle range or only very high ones, in a fourth nothing but Sudra, and so on. And, as caste is a crucial factor in both political and kinship organization, such differences entail important differences in social structure. Prestige stratification in Bali is a powerful integrative force both on the local and on the island-wide levels.

5. *Consanguineal and affinal kinship ties.* Descent and inheritance are patrilineal in Bali, residence is virilocal, but kinship terminology is classic Hawaiian—i.e., wholly bilateral and generational. The major exception to patri-descent and residence is that a man who has no sons may marry a daughter uxorilocally and designate her as his heir; her husband abandons his rights

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

forms but one patus, "c" two, and so on. Thus a man may well have his hamlet alliance in one place (not even necessarily where he lives), his temple ties in a second, and his cremation obligations in yet a third, though of course in a majority of cases some of these affiliations may be merged.

Since Njalian contains representatives of a wide range of caste titles, the interaction of the status hierarchy with the hamlet and temple systems adds yet another dimension of complexity. Hamlet "a" consists entirely of Brahmana and higher Satria people, including the ruling family, but some lesser Triwangsa belong to "b," "c", "d", and "e", mixed in among the Sudra. Hamlets "f", "g", and "h" are wholly Sudra, with "f" consisting of but a single dadia kin group, a rather uncommon occurrence. Caste affects temple organization too. In temple set I the death temple was until two years ago divided by a low wall; the Sudra organized their festival separately and held it on one side of the wall, the Triwangsa held theirs on the other. But this has been changed for reasons of economy and democracy, and now all worship together. Voluntary organizations, of which there are literally dozens, irrigation societies, two main ones being involved in this area, and some thirty or forty kin groups also complicate social relationships, though kinship is evidently less important here as an organizing force than in many other villages.

In such an admittedly extreme case of cross-cutting social groupings, the problem of integration, of mutual adjustments among the groups, is a very pressing one. At times open fights have broken out between leaders of various groups over the question of who had prior rights on the services of members common to them. Heavy concurrent demands often mean that work is only hastily done; when the slit gong is beaten to call together members of a given group, many people fail to appear because they either were too far away to hear the gong or thought that it was being sounded for another group to which they were not obligated. To rationalize this situation the Perbekel has instituted a monthly meeting of all important group leaders—fifty people or so—in which he tries valiantly to get them to coordinate their several efforts. He has also attempted to territorialize the system more by making hamlet and temple membership dependent on residence but, though he has had a little success in this direction, most of his efforts have been resisted by the villagers who, he claims, prefer things to be complicated. Despite the fact that he is the traditional ruler of the area, that he has been Perbekel for thirty years, and that he now has the whole Indonesian State behind him, he says that there is really very little he can do in reforming village institutions. People bow and act subservient, but they do just as they wish.

2. *Tihingan.* Although it lies only six miles or so east of Njalian, in the heart of the former kingdom of Klungkung, Tihingan differs from Njalian in most of its important features. Unlike Njalian, Tihingan has never been the seat of a lord, has relatively few Triwangsa and the Perbekel is a Sudra. Unlike Njalian, social affiliations, though complexly organized, are quite systematically integrated rather than randomly crosscutting. And unlike Njalian, there are within the perbekelan three definite spatial clusters of social loyalty to

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

621 624 which the name village can be properly applied, while the perbekelan as a whole forms only the vaguest of social units. The three villages concerned are Pau, Penasan, and Tihingan proper (the seat of the Perbekel which, consequently, lends its name to the entire perbekelan). We shall be concerned here only with Tihingan proper.

Tihingan proper consists of a single hamlet of some 138 kitchens grouped into 85 house-compounds, and there is but one set of Kahyangan-Tiga temples [794] to which all members of the hamlet belong, a rather untypically simple arrangement. There is a Brahmana priest living in the village, and there is a [564] scattering of low-title Satria and Vesia families, but almost 90 percent of the 621 population is Sudra. From the structural point of view, however, the most 614 striking characteristic of Tihingan is neither its territorial pattern nor its status system, but the rather unusual importance of kinship as an organizational force in social life. It is the four dadia, accounting for nearly 80 perrent of the village population, which form the axis around which Tihingan village life mainly revolves; and the implications of this simple fact can be traced through all the levels of its social organization. On the religious level, each major dadia [794] owns a very large, handsomely carved temple (in the case of the two largest dadia, even larger and more handsomely carved than the theoretically superordinate Kahyangan-Tiga temples) near the center of the village. The upkeep of this temple and the carrying out of the requisite semi-annual ceremonies within it in suitable style are among the major functions of the dadia, and rivalries in those matters can become quite intense.

At the political level, the distribution of hamlet leadership roles is con- [623] sciously and carefully designed to provide a realistic reflection of the balance of [624] dadia power. There are five klian or chiefs. Four of these are chosen, one from each of the major dadia; the fifth klian at the same time holds the office of Pengliman and is a member of the second largest dadia. Since the Perbekel himself, a man of some weight within Tihingan proper, is a member of the largest dadia, the kin group foundation for local leadership is clear and exact. Further, in supra-village political processes, institutionalized in the party sys- [665] tem of the "New Indonesia," the two largest kin groups are allied as a faction against the next two plus all the families not belonging to a dadia. All of the first group belong to the Socialist party and all of the second to the Nationalist, so that party allegiance is absolutely predictable from kin group membership, and reflects the internal organization of the village rather than personal ideological conviction.

621 614 476 On the economic level, each dadia forms a cooperative work group for the manufacture of Balinese musical instruments—metallaphones, gongs, cymbals, etc.—a smithing craft in which this village is partially specialized; the personnel working in any given forge almost inevitably are members of the same [326] dadia.[15] Further, most tenancy and exchange work patterns in rice field culti- [243] vation also follow kin group lines, introducing these alliances into the irrigation society context as well. More informal economic relationships—money lending, patronage, and so on—follow the same pattern.

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

proverb.) Similarly, when a dadia is working at a temple festival, or whatever, the sub-dadia ties within the dadia are considered to have no reality and do not act as a basis for subgroup differentiation.

The second rule sets forth a hierarchy of precedence in which the needs of the hamlet outrank those of the dadia, those of the dadia outrank those of the sub-dadia, and those of the sub-dadia outrank those of voluntary groups. For example, if the hamlet as a whole wishes to harvest the fields of its members, then it has priority. The whole bandjar must harvest and does so as a group, with no internal differentiation. If the hamlet doesn't wish to harvest —per decision of the hamlet meeting—then the dadia have next rights, unaffiliated families either banding together or yielding their rights to one or another of the dadia. If the dadia also decides not to harvest, then the sub-dadia may; if the sub-dadia have no immediate needs then the task is surrendered to voluntary groups. The combination of these two rules of procedure —one prohibiting multiple bases of affiliation for a single task, one establishing an order of precedence—acts as a major integrative mechanism in this otherwise rather faction-prone village.

3. *Blaju.* Unlike Njalian, Blaju is not the name of a perbekelan, and unlike Tihingan, it is not the name of a fairly well defined village unit within a perbekelan. Rather, it is the name for a broadly defined region of about six square miles at the eastern edge of the Regency of Tabanan within which the influence of a particular ruling family was preponderant in the pre-Colonial period and to a great extent continues so today. As such, Blaju forms a minuscule state within a state, and its pattern of organization is characterized primarily by a stress on territoriality and caste (or title) as bases for social affiliation. Perhaps more than any other area of Bali, Blaju approaches the common stereotype of peasant social structure as being organized in terms of a pyramid of increasingly inclusive territorial units—barrios, villages, subdistricts, districts, and the like—each unit ruled by an attached political official of appropriate status. But, unfortunately for the sort of theory which would like to see in this system a survival of an "original" Balinese pattern from which all else could be adjudged a "deviation," this hierarchical territorialization is a quite recent phenomenon, occurring as a consciously motivated social innovation explicitly designed to intensify social integration.

The area commonly denominated as Blaju contains four perbekelan, three contiguous, one a kilometer or so to the north. The members of these four perbekelan— about 1500 kitchens—support a common set of Kahyangan-Tiga temples, a rather unusual circumstance, for commonly Kahyangan-Tiga congregations are usually smaller and are less extensive than a perbekelan. Within each of these perbekelan there are four hamlets, and each of these hamlets is further divided into from three to six territorial subunits called *kliran*. A kliran has arbitrarily fixed borders and each adult living within these borders is ipso facto a member of that kliran. It is the kliran, averaging eighteen to twenty kitchens, which performs most of the important day-to-day social functions, and it is the basic cooperative work unit in planting-harvesting, ritual, and the

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

there were too many such groups, that they made for conflict, for a decrease in valuable public activities, and led to a kind of individualism. "The seka got rich, but the bandjar got poor." Thus all the sixteen hamlets decided at once to institute the kliran system and to ban voluntary organizations for all important functions. And when the Dutch left in 1941 the ruling family further intensified its efforts to strengthen the status system which had also been weakened in the general move toward a less organic society, producing the present pattern of organization. Territorialism in Blaju is thus not a simple survival from the distant past, but the outcome of the interaction between traditional values and the quite untraditional events of the twentieth century.

In such a system integrative strains are likely to appear across caste lines, and despite all the bowing and scraping one sees in Blaju, Sudra resentment against Triwangsa domination is quite evident. When a small Sudra dadia of Sunguhu which traditionally has the right to patronize priests appointed from among its own members rather than Brahmana ones, attempted to institute this system in Blaju a few years ago, they were expelled from their hamlet under intense Triwangsa pressure on the basis of "injuring local custom and denigrating the upper castes." Despite heavy pressures from the central bureaucracy and some local sympathy for the rebels, the Blaju upper castes held firm and the Sunguhu ultimately capitulated. But, irrespective of such strains, Blaju is rather more tightly knit than most Balinese villages: all the 1500 families were members of a single national political party, and one of the few really effective consumer-producer cooperatives in Bali was located in Blaju, its effectiveness being mainly attributable to the fact that it, too, had 100 per cent membership.

SOME THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Of the many theoretical issues growing out of the analysis of Balinese village organization, among the most interesting are those centering around questions of typology. Typologizing has always been a central concern of social anthropology because both descriptive simplicity and comparative generalization rest on the possibility of summarizing social organizations in terms of constructs at once ethnographically circumstantial and formally distinctive. Whatever their shortcomings from more sophisticated theoretical perspectives, such types as "The Indian Village," "The Chinese State," or "The Nuer Kinship System" (to say nothing of "Peasant Society," or "Segmentary Social Organization," which are perhaps best seen as second order types of types) seem essential to comparative analysis of even the most rudimentary sort. But the Balinese case, in which this methodologically fundamental task of discriminating wood from trees seems unusually difficult of accomplishment, suggests that some of the assumptions underlying our usual typologizing procedures may be in need of revision. Particularly, and perhaps paradoxically, they suggest that clues to the typologically essential may as often lie in rare or unique phenomena as they do in common or typical ones; that essential form

[97 cont.]
771 the intensive effect of Hinduism. The whole organization of
174 the village, as well as the work on the land, is closely bound
621 up with this religion; there are special dèsa temples, religious festivals for purifying the dèsa, special temples for the soebak, etc.

621 There are two types of dèsa on Bali, especially in Buleleng, the old-fashioned and the modern dèsa. The former is distinguished by the great significance that the dèsa association (sekaha dèsa) still has; it consists primarily of the descendants of those who founded the dèsa, that is, the so-called core villagers. Certain advantages are enjoyed by [98] the members of these dèsa associations in the old-fashioned villages, usually in the form of agricultural land. The number of members is
● [564] limited, and there is absolute equality among them; even differences of caste do not play a part here. [Illustration appears here.] A council of elders guides the collective settlement of matters.

When a member dies, his son or some other blood relative is taken into membership [99] in his place. When there is no male relative to succeed him, a new member can be taken in. Such a new member has to serve a kind of apprenticeship, during which he is not looked upon as a full member of the association, and at meetings he has to serve the other members. The external characteristic of the old-fashioned dèsa is the possession
[623] of a balé-agoeng, a long shed in the forecourt of the village temple, where the dèsa meetings are held. In these meetings each member has the same rights as the others and possesses
[624] one vote. For the orderly conduct of business matters, however, there are some leaders, the eldest members of the association. In some dèsa this executive committee is composed exclusively of a certain number of these elders who are accorded various official titles. When one of these executive members dies, a successor is moved up to take his place.

793 The pasèk, whose function has a religious character, is
554 on an equal footing with these executive members, and above
[776] them in some dèsa. He answers to the godhead, the déwa, when the latter is reincarnated in the temple.

[Text continues on p. 113]

[100 cont.]

793 at the same time is charged with offering the sacrifices in the temple. The klian, too, is a kind of spiritual leader; he is in charge of the care of the temple and is the leader in religious ceremonies.

624 Scattered villages are divided into bandjar, or parishes; in each there is a special local functionary, the klian bandjar or klian tinggi.

For administration and financial management there is a penjarikan-dèsa, the secretary-treasurer of the village; sometimes the klian has this office, but sometimes it is delegated to someone else, or, in the chief villages, to the pambekel gedé.

In most of these villages there is also a klian tempèk or klian troena, who calls upon the troena, or young members, to carry out the tasks they have to do.

Finally, in nearly every large dèsa there is also a sedahan temboekoe, "water bailiff," who is in charge of the principal aqueducts and who collects the taxes.

623 In some villages of this type there is a kind of village council composed of prominent soedra who act as counsellors and arbitrators to the klian and the penjarikan.

621 [101] Duties of the Inhabitants. With some exceptions, all adult, male inhabitants are obliged to carry out certain duties in the service of the village, such as keeping the roads in order, manning the watch posts, and taking part in offering sacrifices in the temple. Each in turn acts as messenger for the klian.

883 533 535 The youths (troena), in addition, are obliged to do special services, such as playing the gamelang in the temple [illustration appears here], performing dances, etc. The young girls, too, have similar duties, such as performing round dances. Later on they become members of the temple choir, accompanied by the gamelang.

461 564 Those exempt from dèsa service are, among others, the members of the highest caste, some also of the second and third caste, and the perbali (a class between the third caste and the soedra in rank, the propertied middle class) and young married people during the first year of marriage.

[104 cont.]

634 For his exertions on behalf of the soebak, the klian some-
312 times receives a double portion of irrigation water, and, as tax
[651 collector, he receives a part of the income from taxes.
465]

At the head of a number of soebak in one or more dèsa is the sedahan temboekoe, who stands above the various klian and supervises the distribution of the water. At the same time, he looks after the taxes for the prince. Above all of them is the head of the whole water supply, the sedahan agoeng, who holds regular monthly meetings with the several sedahan temboekoe. In 1882, when (in Buleleng) direct governmental administration was introduced, the sedahan temboekoe received a monthly salary of 130 guilders and the title of subcollector.

611 Family Law. On Bali and the Balinese portion of Lombok
[614] (western Lombok) one can speak of a patriarchal family system,
but there is no longer any trace of clan divisions. There is
564 another dividing line, however, that of the caste system. The
greatest cleavage is that between the members of the three high-
est castes, the triwangsa, descendants of overlords, on the one
hand, and the soedra, the subjects, on the other. It is a rule
[582] that a man may not marry a woman of higher caste; he may,
however, marry a woman of lower caste. One may thus in part
speak here of true endogamy, the prohibition against marrying
outside of one's group, in this case outside of one's class or caste.
Otherwise the marriage and inheritance laws have more in com-
583 mon with those of patriarchal exogamy: the custom of bride
611 price, descent reckoned in the male line (for determining caste
423 membership, only that of the man is considered), inheritance
rights only for the male relatives in the male line, while the
[587] woman is, in theory, part of the inheritance, although this has
not led to levirate marriage.

Formerly, in the case of a death without heirs, the inheri-
tance, after debts and the cost of cremation had been deducted,
went to the dèsa association, later to the prince. This led [105]
833 to very sad consequences; the wives and daughters moved to the
428 royal residence and were simply sent out as prostitutes to increase

I 121 846 [207 cont.]
fact, something that can be seen and is evident, something very concrete and established automatically, by the act of giving birth. On the other hand, paternity is a wholly abstract conception. Since paternity was not an institution that existed from the beginning, was not self-evident, it was natural that with the development of this conception, a means was sought to put such an abstract idea into concrete form ad oculos. For this reason, paternity was modeled after the existing maternity. The latter took place in childbed, and therefore paternity, too, had to be established under this symbol. In order to proclaim the paternity of a child, the father imitated the childbed and behaved like a woman in childbed. We can also look at this fact for an explantion of the custom mentioned above, that during the pregnancy the man as well as the woman has to give up many things. The customs after the confinement are simply extended to the period before the event. As the origin of the custom sank into oblivion, the idea that the abstinence of the father was just as necessary for the infant's health as that of the mother gradually was formed.

b. Twins

I 845 B 845 564 Some peoples have very peculiar ideas about the birth of twins. Let us begin with the Balinese. [208] First of all we should note that Hinduism has remained in existence on Bali to the present day. Hinduism also brings with it the division of the people into castes and standings. On Bali, just as in India, there are four castes, that of the Brahman, or priests, that of the Kshatriya, or warriors, that of the Vaisya, or merchants and farmers, and that of the Sudra, or common people. In Balinese, they are called Brahmana, Satrya, Wesja, and Sudra. The caste of the Wesja is held in greatest respect on Bali, and most of the princes belong to it today. But to the matter at hand. In all the castes, the birth of twins of the same sex is regarded as a special blessing, as evidence of divine favor. If, however, a

Bali OF7
Nias OD11
Land Dyak OC8
Makassar OG6

B 845 [564] [208 cont.] boy and a girl are born at the same time, it is a calamity, not only for the parents, but for the village; it is a curse for the Sudra and Wesja, but a blessing for the Brahmana and Satrya, even for the whole country. If twins are born to a reigning sovereign who is a Wesja, it puts him on a level with the Brahmana and Satrya.

A twin birth of both sexes among the Sudra and Wesja is called manak salah = sinful birth, and the children are called kembar salah = sinful twins. Immediately after the birth of twins, B [783] the mother and her newborn children are driven from the village and are condemned to stay outside the central part of the community for three months, preferably in a temporary dwelling near a graveyard. Only at the end of this period and after the proper offerings have been made for them may they return.

Twins of both sexes born among the Brahmana and Satrya are called kembar buntjing = betrothed twins. In former times it was the custom to let them marry each other when they reached N 845 marriageable age (1). Among the Niassans twins are always

1. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XVIII, pp. 164-166.

regarded as a calamity and are killed immediately; the parents LD 845 787 are considered unclean [209] for a full year (1). Among the

1. Durdik, Geneesk. Tijdschrift v. Ned. Ind. 1881, p. 262.

Dajak of the western division, more specifically among those of Matan, Simpang, and Soekadana, twins of the same sex are a M 845 favorable sign, but twins of mixed sex are an ominous sign. The boy must be given to the sovereign as a slave (2). Such a surprise

2. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vlk., Vol. XI, p. 24.

T 651 [702] [381 cont.] one to four vessels, kora-kora, completely fitted out, armed, and manned by 30 to 40 men. Moreover, some districts (not all) must keep the sultan supplied with the so-called manusia ratus, that is, 100 adult men, who work only for their maintenance and are relieved from time to time. A few other districts must annually deliver to the sultan a certain quantity of rice, sometimes receiving a small compensation in return. Besides this, there are other obligations which we shall leave unmentioned.

T NG 636 651 We can be brief about the administration of the other islands that belong to the territories of Ternate, Tidore, or Batjan. In the main it is the same as that on Halmahera. As far as New Guinea is concerned, it belongs to the territory of the Sultan of Tidore, at least the north and the northwest coasts. The authority of the Sultan of Tidore is in large part fictive, and even where it is best established it is limited to levying an annual [382] tribute, to bringing in dried skins of paradise birds, trepang, and tortoise shell.

NG 223 226

B 101 643 648 636 The principal states on the Lesser Sunda Islands, primarily on Bali, are Hindu states. There are nine: Boeleleng, Djĕmbrana, Karangasem, Kloenkoeng, Gijanjar, generally called Djanjar, Bangli, Badoeng, Mengoewi, and Tabanan. Each of these states, with the exception of Boeleleng and Djĕmbrana, is governed by its own sovereign. By the treaties concluded with the sovereigns in 1849, after the third Bali expedition, they acknowledged that their states are a part of the Netherlands East Indies and, as such, are subordinate to the supremacy of the Netherlands State. Therefore, they have to fly a Netherlands flag above their own on land and sea and the Government's confirmation is required at their enthronement. Otherwise, these sovereigns are entirely free in their administration. Boeleleng and Djembrana are an exception to this. Boeleleng in 1854 and Djĕmbrana in 1856 were withdrawn from the government of their sovereigns and put directly under our authority.

B 643 564 Finally, the government of the states that are still independent must not be omitted. The sovereign should actually be

[382 cont.]
643 from the Satriya [Kshatriya] caste. All the sovereigns on Bali,
564 however, are from the Wesja [Vaisya] class, with the exception of the ruler of Kloengkoeng. The sovereign of that state is supposed to be a pure Satriya. He bears the title of Dewa agung. The rulers of the other states bear the title of Anak agung. The sovereign of Kloengkoeng exercises a kind of supremacy over the others, not only because of his high birth, but also on the strength of his ancestors' conquests over the other states. This
[641] supremacy is very slight, however. Although the princes swear an oath of loyalty and allegiance to him, consult him on important occasions, and call him in as arbiter of their differences, they obey him only insofar as it suits their interests.

Otherwise, the authority of the sovereigns on Bali is fairly
643 autocratic. Indeed, although the sovereign has a council of
645 priests and notables, members of the royal family, who, depend-
642 ing on their [383] caste, bear the title of dewa or gusti, they are entirely dependent on his will. Next to the sovereign stands the mantja magara, or state administrator, in whom the actual government is vested. The sovereign has still other officials who fulfill various functions.

634 A state is divided into a number of districts. At the head of the districts stand governors, the punggawa or pambekel gĕdé. They are chosen by the people, but under the approval of
622 the sovereign, who often influences the choice. The villages
621 are governed by village chiefs, who bear the name of klijan dèsa.
624 They are chosen by the people, and this choice is approved by the punggawa and the sovereign. There are often lesser chiefs in a village, section chiefs, klijan bandjar.

642 As I have just noted, the sovereign has an autocratic authority. The subjects are outrageously oppressed and regarded as slaves by their sovereigns, who are faithfully imitated in this
651 by the lesser chiefs. The sovereigns have many sources of dif-
[681] ferent kinds of income. They formerly consisted of the fines that were imposed as punishment; the sale of wrongdoers
[428] sentenced to slavery; the estates of those who died without

J [409 cont.]
565 the owner. The others are only used on official occasions. The
554 most important of the ones in the possession of the sovereign are
643 the dampar kentjana or golden throne-chair, a footrest, a golden
J betel-box with golden cuspidor, a silver washbowl with a like
514 water-jug for cleaning after urinating and a silver box in which
411 the toys of a royal ancestor are stored. Furthermore, there are
534 fans of peacock feathers, a few guns with the cartridge pouch,
552 a bow with arrow, a sword, a shield, and a few pikes. All the objects that are not of solid metal are richly plated with gold. Most of these articles have proper names with the title kjahi.

J These ampilan are carried behind the sovereign whenever
643 he shows himself in public, surrounded by his royal splendor,
644 keprabon (for keprabuan, from prabu = sovereign). If this is done inside the kraton, then these objects are carried by more or less elderly female servants; outside the kraton, the bearers are men (1).

1. Groneman, Tijdschrift v. h. Ind. Aardrijksk. Genootsch., 1883, Vol. IV, pp. 1-13.

c. Bali

Bl On Bali, where, as we know, the Hindus took refuge after
● 564 the fall of Modjopahit [Majapahit] on Java, the division into castes still exists today (2). These are called tjatur djalma or

2. Kaste is the English "caste," Portuguese casta = a race. The Sanskrit word for caste is varna = small, at least in Manu. The later word for this is jâto = birth, which was corrupted into jat.

tjatur pawongan = the four human beings. They are:

564 [409 cont.]
1. brâhmana; 2. satrijâ; 3. wèsijâ; 4. sudra. The caste of the Brahmans, which the [410] priests are chosen, forms the highest rank. Those who belong to it bear the title of hidan or ida, hida-haju or ida-aju, the women idaju. The Brahmans who have [793] proved by study that they have the required knowledge of religion and priests are called ida gĕdé. They also bear the name pandanda, derived from danda = dasta = staff, which they carry in public. Pandanda thus actually means staff bearer. They are also called pandita, a word that only indicates capability and is derived from Sanskrit. In that language pandita means "learned." Still another title of the priests is kertâ, which is more generally used for those who are charged with consulting the codes of law and, as such, have a seat in the law courts.

The Brahmans are higher in rank than the princes and may marry princes' daughters. On the other hand, the princes may not marry women from the caste of the Brahmans. It is a general rule that marriage with a woman from a higher caste is prohibited under penalty of death.

The number of Brahmans on Bali is very considerable and many live in such great poverty that they must make a living by agriculture, fishing, or handiwork.

564 The caste of the satriya [Kshatriya] is that of the warriors.
701 We have seen that on Java this word means nobleman, which is
562 also the case here; the members have the title of dewa, or dewa-haju if they are women. A section of this caste has the title bagus. According to the original institutions, only the satriya were allowed to carry weapons in defense of the country, and the sovereigns, too, had to belong to it. This institution, however, is so corrupted that nowadays everyone participates in war and the sovereigns are not chosen exclusively from this caste. Only the sovereign of Kloengkoeng must be a pure satriya. He bears the title of Dewa agung.

564 The caste of the Wesja [Vaisya], the farmers, merchants,
643 and artists, has greater prestige here than in India. All Balinese sovereigns, except the one of Kloengkoeng, belong to it. The

B1 [410 cont.]
564 title for Wesja is gusti, for the women gusti aju. The sovereigns,
643 however, are called hanak agung or anak agung = exalted, distinguished, or great person.

B1 [411] The caste of the Sudra is the one of the common
564 people. They are entirely subject to the higher castes, so much
198 so that the latter deal with their possessions as they please.
576 Moreover, there is a difference in language between the three higher castes and the Sudra. The former address the latter in the vulgar language (basa sogol, basa dĕgag, basa djaba), whereas the lowest caste speaks to the higher ones in the high language (basa bakti, basa puri), which the higher castes speak to one another.

B1 One can be reduced from a higher caste to a lower one
558 for wrongdoing. Also, after a war the vanquished are sometimes
681 dealt with in this way. Meanwhile, it seems that the caste dif-
727 ference here is gradually beginning to fade.
177

The tjĕndĕla = unfortunates, outcastes, form a separate
B1 group which is made up of persons suffering from incurable
564 diseases, especially leprosy, and are banished from society, re-
164 gardless of the caste to which they belong. They drag out a
558 miserable existence in some isolated place.

d. Sumatra

S Where royal rule exists on Sumatra, one finds a quite
M1 marked division into two standings, the nobility and burgher
643 standing. We shall give a few examples, beginning with
565 Palembang. Formerly Palembang formed a state of this name with a sultan at the head, which fell when the sultan was removed on August 9, 1825. The distinction that existed between the nobility and the common class at the time of the sultan's rule continued, however. To the former belonged first of all the
M1 descendants of the sultan, the prijaji, with the title of pangéran,
S radèn, or other Javanese noble names, depending on their closer
[651 or more distant relationship with the sovereign. The prijaji at
642]

[541 cont.]
346 are no temples on Bali for Brahma or Vishnu, which is natural since they are regarded only as forces of Siva. There are sanctu-
778 776 aries here and there for Indra and for Varuna. Those dedicated to
782 the latter are usually located on the coast. Çri is worshiped in little houses built for this in the sawahs or along the roads, in which the passers-by scatter a few grains of rice if they have any with them.

Furthermore, each house has a house-temple, sanggar.

793 The priests in charge of the service in the large temples
●[544] always belong to the caste of the Brahmans. Their principal activity, of course, is conducting [542] the religious ceremonies in the temples. They are not teachers of the people, although they give instruction to those who are being trained as priests. They further occupy themselves with regulating the chronology, and they determine favorable and unfavorable days for anyone who turns to them. Finally, they busy themselves with literature, especially with the study of the holy books, the Vedas.

791 Besides these actual priests, there is another class of per-
786 sons who play an important role in the worship of the people, to which both men and women belong. During great religious festivities, they are, so it is said, possessed by one or another divinity and in this condition manifest the will of the divinity. They are called walyan, of which wewalén or wawalen, as they are also called, is a modified form. I emphasize this word, because we shall meet it later elsewhere in the archipelago. As a rule, these people are put in a state of ecstasy by artificial means, through incense, monotonous chants, etc., in order to be able to serve the gods as their inferiors. The words that they utter in this condition are considered oracles and as such are respected. Furthermore, they are witch doctors and doctresses.

782 Worship consists of making offerings, which are given with a sembah and are deposited in front of the little temple-houses. The sembah is coupled with a muttered formula, mantra.

796 The notables usually make the offerings in the ordinary
782 temples, but at great festivities they are made by the wawalen,

565

565 CLASSES--presence or absence of stratified groups between which mobility is to at least some extent possible; number and ranking of social classes; composition and distribution; basis of differentiation (e.g., wealth, occupation, ascribed status, conquest); class consciousness; degree of class organization; integration of cliques with classes; class prerogatives and disabilities; insignia and stigmata of classes; relations between classes; extent of intermarriage; status and affiliation of children of interclass marriages; special social classes (e.g., royalty, nobles and commoners, bourgeois and proletariat); etc. See also:

Mobility 55
Political statuses 62, 63, 64, 66
Occupational specialization 463
Standards of living 511
Cliques 573
Revolutionary movements 669
Poverty 736

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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177 545 (*a*) The Hindu-Balinese and Javanese-Balinese rulers sometimes attempted to attach early indigenous classes and crafts to their courts. To maintain themselves there members of such groups then attempted to defend their early indigenous rights and positions in the way customary in the Hindu and Hindu-Javanese courtly sphere on Bali. This was for example the case with the blacksmiths, about which Goris writes below.[48]

177 621 (*b*) Alongside the *desa*, membership of which is restricted to the descendants of its founders, older villages also have the *banjar*,[49] which organization includes all the married male residents of the village. The *banjar* is charged with all kinds of secular activities, in contrast to the *desa*, which has rather more a religious task. Moreover the *banjar* can be classified as belonging to the *kĕlod* sphere and the *desa* to the *kaja* sphere – with all the connotations attached to that antithesis.[50] The *banjar* occupies itself with the purification of the *desa* territory, especially in the magical sense, and with the care of the dead, either by means of burial or of cremation. In traditional villages the *banjar* is subordinate to the *desa*.

In the apanages of central Bali, where the *desa* came under the influence of the royal administration, the relationship gradually shifted. The authorities took to demanding contributions from the villages for their expensive cremation celebrations. It was only natural to do that *via* the *banjar* organization. The *banjar*, which had traditionally had a secular task, also formed the point of contact in the village sphere for all sorts of administrative measures of the ruler. The representatives of the royal administration began to take over control of it. And when cremation became the custom in the village sphere as well, the *banjar* was the most logical institution to organize within the *desa* the mutual assistance needed for the purpose. Hence the *banjar* grew in importance and finally outstripped the *desa*.

We see, then, the early indigenous *banjar* obtaining a Hindu task, as far as cremation is concerned, and a shift in the village organization as a result of contact with the royal sphere.

177 764 (*c*) The cremation of the dead is still considered as one of the typically Hindu phenomena on Bali. Within the whole of Bali-

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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326 114 These authentic documents, which do not represent a traditional historiography such as is contained in the *lontar* literature, but reflect with documentary reliability the actual conditions at the time of their dating, demonstrate that before the arrival of Hindu culture on Java and Bali the *desa* was the political unit. All traditional indigenous power was vested in the *desa* authorities. And in the *desa* the smiths (including the blacksmiths, coppersmiths, and goldsmiths) were among the important craftsmen represented by an *ĕmpu*, a 'master' (smith).

463 823 565 This is true on Bali even today; specific functions in the village community are still performed by members of specific classes: *pasĕk*, *kĕbayan*, *pande*, and so forth.[5] All metal was and is considered by Indonesians as magically dangerous, magically 'charged', and anyone who desires to be in daily contact with it must himself have magic power at his disposal, since otherwise there are great risks involved. For this reason the smiths constituted a separate genealogical group in which not only the technique of forging was kept secret but certain magical craft usages were retained – usages in connection both with the initiation of apprentice-sons and with the tools of the trade, which on Bali even today may only be used after certain *mantras* have been recited. De Kat Angelino published these *mantras* in his instructive study,[6] and I have also found them listed in the 'codex of the smiths', the *Prasasti Sira Pande Ĕmpu*, to which I shall return below.

326 643 With the establishment and expansion of royal authority, and hand in hand with it that of the priests, who were also made members of the judiciary newly instituted after the Hindu model – in a word, with the rise and development of the Hindu-Javanese state, – it goes without saying that the older crafts and social forces were driven into the background.

Despite the Hinduism which he officially professed, however, the early Javanese or Balinese ruler was Indonesian to the core, and the magic power of the *pande wĕsi* was just as real to him as to every other Javanese or Balinese. In order not to turn that magic power against it, but rather in its favour, it seemed to the court group (the ruler and the priests, each with a vast host of subordi-

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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vaunted themselves into the *triwangsa* may haughtily refer to them as such, but all Balinese, including members of the *triwangsa*, recognize the existence of many different groups such as the *pasĕks*, the *bĕndesas*, and the *pulosaris* within this multitude.[14] Some of these groups, such as the *bujanggas* and the *sĕngguhus* and the people of the *desa* of Tĕnganan on the border of the *Bali-aga*, have customs that are deviant in cer ain aspects. In this connection reference may also be made to the group of the *mĕsiwa raga*, who have their own holy water, yet may be buried in the general graveyard and may be cremated. (It should also be pointed out that many 'ordinary' Hindu-Balinese do not obtain their holy water for cremation from the *pĕdanda Brahma*, but from the *pĕmangku* of the *pura dalĕm*, the guardian of the temple of the dead; such people are called *mĕsiwa kĕ dalĕm*.)

One of these separate groups is that of the *pande wĕsi*. In the course of the centuries this group has to all appearances largely accepted *triwangsa* usages in its ritual. Never completely, however, or at least never without a vivid awareness that it had older rights than the Brahmins coming from Java. In some *desas* the blacksmiths have their own temples and graveyards; in others they have become an integral part of the *desa* community, even in its Hindu-Javanese configuration.

Here I should like to report something of their *Prasasti Sira Pande Empu*, a résumé of which is given in the appendix below. The codification of literature, of whatever sort, is a Hindu phenomenon on Java and Bali. First the Hindu writings were copied out, then provided with a commentary, and in a later stage rewritten in a form adapted to Indonesian circumstances, but eventually purely Indonesian literature, which until then had been preserved in oral tradition, was also recorded. Hence the *pande wĕsi* codified their tradition in the Gelgel period, thus after 1400. Their *prasasti* is, in its present form, a Hindu-Javanese product in appearance and structure. Essential parts of it, however, are purely Indonesian.

As regards structure, the work begins with an account of creation, or a cosmogony. In content this account deviates from the usual cosmogonies in allowing the whole world to be formed from

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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773 Brahma, who is very clearly not the Brahma of early Hinduism,
326 but the fire god. As an intermediary figure between Brahma and
564 the *pande wĕsi* appears Ĕmpu Pradah, in the *prasasti* a mythologi-
565 cal figure who has only his name in common with the historical Mpu Bharāḍa of Erlangga's reign (*circa* 1040). It is Ĕmpu Pradah who provides the smiths with their holy water.

Then follow a great number of *mantras*, both for the tools used in forging and for the ritual of the dead, which is described at length. The chief *mantra*, called *sundari bungkah*, is definitely a new fabrication the notion of which must be attributed to partial knowledge of the *mantra* books of the *pĕdandas:* the combination of letters in it cannot even be pronounced, let alone that it might have any lexical significance. It is neither indigenous nor Hindu.

565 As regards the essential characteristics of the *prasasti*, the most
326 significant thing is the central place of Fire, the god of the smiths. Also of importance is the use of certain formulas which are of Indonesian origin rather than Hindu and which also occur in the age-old purification rites, the similarly pre-Hindu *ruwat* or *lukat* formulas.

In its present form, however, the *prasasti* as a whole is so much a Hindu-Javanese work and so permeated by general Hindu conceptions that on the basis of its contents I would consider it an imitation of the customary *tutur* literature which was dictated by the needs of the times. The *pande wĕsi*, hard-pressed for centuries, will have felt that, in order to maintain their own position, it would be best to imitate the general type of religious book, combining a cosmogony and ritual prescripts. As early as 1878 Van Eck commented:

> It is curious to hear the tales that have been and are being invented to demonstrate clearly and obviously that one actually is of Majapahit descent ...[15]

Korn similarly states:

> Hence the classes mentioned above [including the *pande wĕsi*], in order to escape being grouped among ordinary *sudras*, have felt called upon to demonstrate by means of genealogies, *pĕmĕnchangahs*, *prasastis*, and *babads* that they are of divine origin ...[16]

l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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There is so little of the pre-Hindu tradition of the *pande wĕsi* included in this *prasasti* that in our eyes it would seem a pretty weak argument to their advantage. However, on taking into consideration the time of writing one can conclude from the compilation of such a *lontar* that the *pande wĕsi* had no desire to be completely absorbed into Hindu-Javanese society on Bali, but wished to claim a special place for themselves.

By composing such a *lontar* and even more by using the general structure of the books of the *pĕdandas* and borrowing a great deal of *mantra* material from them, the *pande wĕsi* acted in keeping with the demands of the age between 1400 and 1900. This was the only sort of evidence that was valued by the Hindu-Balinese public. If the blacksmiths had said 'We are pre-Hindu', they would have been boycotted instead of retaining their special place in society. Hence they reasoned: 'We, too, are descendants of Brahma and Pradah, and Brahma, in his incarnation as Pradah, gave us the oldest rights.'

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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Chapter Three

Class and Status

● 565 The full-fledged citizenry of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan can be subdivided in two ways: according to class and according to age and marital status. For the legal position of the individual the second grouping is far more important, since class privileges are little in evidence.

In Tĕnganan there are five classes, the *pancha wangsa*, with each class consisting of a right and a left flank (*panĕngĕn*, from *tĕngĕn* or 'right', and *pĕngiwa*, from *kiwa* or 'left'). This division into right and left halves is to be found in the *desa* again and again, though in a few cases it has given way to a division into east and west. The names of the classes are as follows:

	PANĔNGĔN	PĔNGIWA
1	*sangyang* (*tĕngĕn*)	*ijĕng* (*sangyang kiwa*)
2	*batuguling maga*	*batuguling*
3	*prajurit*	*ĕmbak buluh*
4	*pande wĕsi*	*pande mas*
5	*pasĕk*	*bĕndesa*

Not a great deal more could be learnt regarding these classes. In earlier times the *desa* had *prasastis* recounting the origin of the classes, but they were lost in the great fire of 1876.

It is certain that the *sangyang* and *ijĕng*, which the Tĕngananese compare with Brahma and Wisnu respectively, are held in the greatest respect: they are the custodians of the occult fields of learning and the experts in *desa adat* and history. The left and right *sangyang* groups are the successors of the two historical figures who, according to Balinese tradition, established religion and the pattern of village organization on the island: Sang Kulputih and Ĕmpu Kuturan. The *sangyang* are considered to represent Sang Kulputih and the *ijĕng* Ĕmpu Kuturan.

[P.330]

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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The *de mangku* is required to be a *sangyang*, and to have reached at least the rank of *luanan* in the *desa* administration. Since no living member of the *sangyang* has yet attained such a high rank, however, the post has been vacant for years. Nonetheless a compound with all the customary compound buildings is maintained for him. (The same is the case for the *de ngijĕng*, for whom a place is also left open at important religious ceremonies.) According to the village constitution the *de mangku* has a right to seven compounds, but since no one has occupied the post for so long only one of the seven is maintained. At the offering meetings, however, seven portions of the offering foods are still set out for him. If there is a *de mangku* he must serve as *subak* for the *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys' association, though otherwise that *subak* may be chosen from the *batuguling maga* group. The *guru* of the *tĕrunas nyoman* should by preference also come from the *sangyang* group, though an *ijĕng* may also fill such a function if need be. In fact there does not seem to be any prohibition against members of other classes taking up the function of *guru*, and it has been done twice; in each case, however, the *guru* died an early and violent death, while his pupils were plagued by misfortune to the end of their lives. 565

Though the leaders of the religious ceremonies in the village temples, who are also custodians of the religious mysteries, come from the *sangyang* group, the word *mangku* in this *desa* must not be given a significance of 'temple guardian' such as is attributed to the term *pĕmangku* in the rest of Bali. The *de mangku* is viewed rather as the village ruler (compare the *mangkubumi*, the vizier of the Malay principalities on the east coast of Sumatra),[1] the agrarian founder, who is thus also the obvious person to have charge over unoccupied plots of land (in this sense comparable to the *mangku bumi* in the Javanese principalities, the supervisor of agricultural affairs,[2] but even more to the *mĕramba mangu tanah* of Sumba[3] and the *tuan tanah* of the Kai Islands[4]). Even aside from his control of *desa* lands, the *de mangku* is clearly the largest landowner. It is also his task to lend material assistance to the poor. 565 624

The *ijĕng* or *sangyang kiwa* group traditionally provides the village with another official, the *subak desa* or *de ngijĕng*. (The *ng-* is added

1;Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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565 for purposes of liaison in the combination of the title *de* with *ijĕng*.)

624 Only an *ijĕng* who has already sounded the signal block in the *desa*, that is to say has been *pĕnyarikan desa*, comes into consideration for this post. Since there is no such person available, this office, too, is vacant. One of the *desa* members of the *ijĕng* group had almost reached the rank of *pĕnyarikan* when his wife took to trading in public, which forced him to resign as a member of the *desa*. Though he as a result does not hold the post of *subak desa*, he is nonetheless known as *de ngijĕng*. He is an authority on *desa* customs and history and knows practically the whole *desa* constitution by heart. (He was, however, very chary with his knowledge.)

565 The *pandé* class and the *pasĕk* and *bĕndesa* groups are supposedly not descended from the original inhabitants of the village, but they have their own heap of stones in the *pura pĕkuwon*. There are no longer any *pandes mas*, literally 'goldsmiths', in the village: the earlier representatives of the group moved to the *desa* of Bratan in Buleleng, since they remembered their long-standing kinship with the *pandes* living there. There are still *pandes wĕsi*, but none of them practises the craft of blacksmith.

It is remarkable that while in the rest of Bali the *pasĕks* and *bĕndesas* are viewed as the highest groups among the *sudras*,[1] here they are at the bottom. The *pasĕks* consider themselves to be related to their namesakes in other *desas*, and go to worship with them in certain temples, for example at Pura Dasar Gelgel in Klungkung. However, they do not cremate their dead, and (though it is not quite clear to me why) the Tĕngananese have more respect for the *pasĕks* from other villages who do practise cremation. Consequently the official post of *pasĕk* in the *desa* is filled by a *pasĕk* from the neighbouring village of Ngis. The other classes play no special rôle in the *desa*.

If one asks a Tĕngananese which class he belongs to, unless he is a *sangyang* he will answer that he does not know, or that others have told him that he belongs to this or that class. If one then checks with those others, they in turn will declare that they may not express an opinion on someone else's class. This same phenomenon is found throughout Bali in regard to the caste system.

l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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There are no special privileges attached to a position in the higher classes. Nor is a more courteous language used towards higher-class persons, except that the *sangyangs* have a right to the title of *de* (perhaps an abbreviation of *gĕde*).[6] Members of each class have their own places of burial in specified graveyards divided into a right-hand (eastern) and a left-hand (western) series on either side of the eastern gate; the division, however, does not correspond completely to that of the classes into *panĕngĕn* and *pĕngiwa*.

The *sangyangs* and *prajurits* are not allowed to eat millet, cane sugar, or bread-fruit, nor may they kill turtle-doves or two kinds of salt-water fish or cut *pungut* trees. In a land like Bali, with its far-going subdivision in classes and castes, the number of such prohibitions is countless, since every group has its own. The explanation usually given is that members of a certain class or caste have an obligation to the prohibited animal or plant because of a service it had rendered an ancestor.[7] In the case of Tĕnganan this is true of the two kinds of fish, which are considered as the defenders of the Tĕngananese coast.[8] However, the turtle-dove is prohibited because Batara Indra assumed the shape of that bird in order to travel swiftly from Jambudwipa (India) to Bali, while the prohibited plants mentioned served as food for him, and the *pungut* tree as a resting place.

It is not prohibited for men to marry women of a higher class, but such marriages are usually frowned upon; especially the choice of a wife from one of the *sangyang* groups by a man of a lower class is looked upon as ill-fated, since such people die an early death. In case of such mixed marriages the wife joins the class of her husband and is also buried in the graveyard of his class, while the children, too, follow their father's class. However, such mixed marriages never lead to a breaking of ties with her family or a loss of family rights.

In the period before the twentieth century the *sangyang* and *ijĕng* groups were exempt from services to the ruler.

The second method of dividing the population, according to age and marital status, is related to some extent to the division into

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want to have done, charge us, your pupils, with it: we shall faithfully follow your commands by working for you." Then they all perform a *sĕmbah* before the *guru*, and various of them are unable to hide their emotion. Next the girls recite a prayer of thanks to the deity that the boys have concluded their period of learning without misfortune.

Then follows a charming ceremony. The girls say to the boys: "Come, all of you, chew some betel, there are the requisites", and they indicate a full betel box in the corner of the *bale sakanĕm*. The boys have to fetch the box, but in doing so they must continue to touch the edge of the candle-nut chest in the diagonally opposite corner of the *bale* with their toes. If they cannot reach so far lying on their stomachs they are permitted to jab in the box with their creese handle and in that way pull it towards them. Then each of them takes a betel leaf, chews on it a few times, and spits out the half-chewed leaf, after which a quid is chewed in the usual way. This concludes the ceremony.

There is an interesting comparison between the *tĕrunas nyoman* and moths. While the boys are busy with their temple expeditions they are called 'eggs', once they are in their *guru*'s house they are called 'pupae', and when the *guru* declares their period of learning ended this is called 'hatching'.

From the very beginning these boys are considered to belong to the boys' association their father belonged to. At the same time, however, they are the *pĕngawins* of the *tĕrunas nyoman* for the next year. Since all *tĕrunas* are present at the ceremonies for the *tĕrunas nyoman* there is constant contact between the younger and older groups of boys. The *tĕrunas* of the three associations also provide four officials of the *sĕkaha tĕruna nyoman* who have the task of helping to maintain order and of settling difficulties.

There is a certain connection between the three older boys' associations and the classes in the *desa*, since the *tĕruna tĕmu kaja* consists of the boys of the *sangyang*, *prajurit*, *pande*, and *bĕndesa* groups, the *tĕruna tĕmu tĕngah* of those of the *ĕmbak buluh* and the *pasĕk*, and the *tĕruna tĕmu kĕlod* those of the *ijĕng* and the two *batuguling* groups. Each of the associations has its own assembly hall,

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where the members are required to pass the night at specified times of the year. 565 575 562

Complementing the boys' associations are the three girls' associations. The girls – who must lead very retired lives, are not allowed to go outside the compound gate unaccompanied even during the daytime until they are engaged, and may not do any trading at the risk of being expelled from the association – do not have a preliminary training such as the young boys, nor do they have a *guru*. Nonetheless they are all able to read. Without any preliminaries, they each become a member of one of the three associations, the same one their mother belonged to. [883]

Between the boys' associations and two of the girls' associations there is a tie called *mĕwarang*. This tie exists between the *tĕmu-kaja* and *tĕmu-tĕngah* boys' associations and the *sĕkaha dĕha nyoman*, and between the *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys' association and the *sĕkaha dĕha nĕngah*. The *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys reportedly earlier asked to be *mĕwarang* with the *dĕha wayah*, but the girls refused. The *mĕwarang* finds expression in mutual aid and the presentation of gifts, and the members of the associations involved address each other as *de warang*. Members of associations which are not *mĕwarang* call each other *sumaningsun*. 571

Marriage bring the Tĕngananese a step further. Both husband and wife become members of the *desa* association (the women sit on the left side at joint meetings), and the parents of the new couple lose their membership. Marriage, then, more or less upsets the division of the population according to age. In this connection it should be pointed out that in a family a younger son who marries before his elder brother is considered as having changed places with the latter. The tie between the new *desa* members and their young people's associations is maintained, since they become *palaks* of their former associations. The *desa* association and the young people's associations are highly interdependent in other ways as well: for example, during various festivals first the members of the *desa* are treated to a meal by the young people, and then the young people are given a repast by the *desa* members. 58 554 575

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the *desa* council, or performs the *pĕkĕmit bĕngongan*, both the husband and the wife cease to be *desa* members. 623 626

When a *desa* member of whatever rank is deprived of membership, the others retain their old places for the time being, moving up to their new places only in Katiga, Kaněm, and Kasanga, the third, sixth, and ninth month. In certain cases a person who has lost his *desa* membership can regain it. For instance, a widower who marries a girl of the *desa* becomes a member once more, and the village constitution makes it possible for the *desa* meeting to decide whether a person whose membership has been revoked for another reason should be readmitted. He then regains the same seniority he had earlier enjoyed, even though that may mean that his position has moved towards the upper end of the *bale agung* in the meantime. In view of this possibility of regaining membership, a register of persons who have lost theirs, listed chronologically and according to rank, is kept among the village records. [587]

Since the commencement, termination, and regaining of membership depends on a variety of causes, the number of members of the *desa* is variable. In 1926 there were twenty *pĕngluduhans*. This variability in the number of members has come about as a result of the decrease in population in the village. In earlier times the number of members corresponded to the number of *desa* compounds, with only those married couples having a compound becoming core villagers. Now, however, the population has declined to the extent that there are unoccupied compounds and everyone who marries can immediately obtain one. 623 565 162

During the *desa* meetings the *pĕngluduhans* sit nearest of all the core villagers to the lower end of the *bale agung*.[1] It is a general rule that the persons who have a lower seat (*dibĕten*) address those who sit higher up (*diulu*) in the official language, as *dapa* (the feminine form is *dabi*); the higher-ranking persons address the lower ones as *kita*. The newest pair of *pĕngluduhans* is granted a year in which to learn to behave according to the regulations, and in this period transgressions cannot lead to loss of membership. 623 571

Above the *pĕngluduhans* sit the twelve *tambĕlapus*, the two oldest of whom are called *klihans tambĕlapu*. The two *klihans* and the 623 624

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If the *sayas* have an order to announce to the whole *desa*, however, they go to the houses of the *klihans luanan* or *kĕbayans desa*. There should be six members of this group, which sits above the *bahans*, but as long as the office of *de ngijĕng* is not filled there are only five. Their task is to make the orders of the council known to the core villagers and other inhabitants of the *desa* liable to service. They are not allowed to close their compound doors before the *sayas* have announced the council orders, since they may not be called to from outside. The *sayas* enter the compounds of the *klihans luanan* with great deference, for in this situation the *luanan* is also the *saya*'s *nabe*. Before saying anything, the *saya* takes hold of the edge of the *luanan*'s offering table, then he announces his commission in deferential language. If his manners fall short he is discharged from his duties.

A word more is in order regarding the *de mangku* and the *de ngijĕng*, who in earlier times were looked upon as the ruler and his *patih*, while the territory within the *desa* gates was called the *kraton*. As soon as a member of the right flank of the *sangyang* class has reached the rank of *luanan* he is elevated to the position of *de mangku*. He then occupies the highest seat in the *bale agung*, and is addressed as *kaki mangku*, while his wife is spoken to as *nini mangku*. After he has ceased to be a member of the *desa* the former *de mangku* is referred to as *de mantĕn*. The left flank of the *sangyang* class provides the *de ngijĕng*, who, however, cannot hold office unless there is a *de mangku*. Once a member of the left flank has reached the rank of *pĕnyarikan*, he automatically becomes the senior *luanan* (unless there is no *de mangku*). The *de ngijĕng*, who is also called *subak desa*, is addressed as *kaki*, or *kaki ngijĕng*, his wife as *nini*, or *nini ngijĕng*. His task is primarily a religious one, though he is also entrusted with the *desa* treasury, and must be informed whenever a marriage is concluded. At religious festivities, for instance at the *usaba* ceremony in Kalima, a place is reserved for him, and a portion of food set apart. For the *de mangku* seven portions of food are provided, in keeping with the number of compounds to which he has a right. If the *de ngijĕng* ceases to be a member of the *desa*, for example because one of his children

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623 marries, he is given the function of *de mĕsalah* (as which he is
624 addressed as *kaki salah*, and his wife as *nini salah*) and serves as
565 head of the *klihans gumi*. He remains *de mĕsalah* only as long as his wife is alive. The *de mĕsalah* supervises the offerings at the purification ceremonies in Kasa, Kalima, and Kadasa, the first, fifth, and tenth months.

From the above it is clear that the various ranks in the *desa* are attained on the basis of length of *desa* membership: the longer one is a core villager, the closer to the deity one is seated, and the more hallowed one becomes. Only the *sangyangs* are so hallowed by birth that, once they have reached a certain rank, they are able to skip over the remaining ranks and occupy the two supreme posts of *de mangku* and *de ngijĕng*, which are reserved for their class.

The *klihans gumi* constitute the *desa*'s unprejudiced reservoir of wisdom and experience. They are the supervisors of the widowers, the misformed, and all the other men who for one reason or another are not, or are no longer, *desa* members. Since the *klihans gumi* have ceased to be members of the *desa* and hence do not enjoy the fruits of a share in the *desa* grounds, they no longer perform any services in connection with the purification ceremonies. Nor do they participate in the monthly *desa* meetings, unless they are invited to aid in settling controversies. (As will be seen below, they play an important rôle in the judicial affairs of the *desa*.) However, they do attend the meetings at which plans are made for the purification cremonies in Kasa, Kalima, Kadasa, and Desta, though without their wives. Only at the Kalima purification ceremony do they receive a share of the offering foods. Their title of address is *dapa klihan gumi*.

623 Aside from the officials discussed above, the *desa* has a number of
624 other functionaries who, surprisingly enough, are required to be of different religious views from those of the *desa* members. The chief of these functionaries is the *pasĕk*, who comes from Ngis. He takes part in the *desa* meetings only on invitation, but is always present at the meetings where the purification ceremonies in the months of Kasa, Kalima, and Kaulu are planned. He also has the right to participate in all meetings of the boys' associations to

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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is called a *pulangan*. Each *pulangan* has a *klihan desa* at its head, who in that function is called *klihan pulangan;* in each *pulangan* there are also a *klihan luanan*, functioning as *subak*, and two *tambĕlapus*, with the office of *saya*. Despite the fact that there is no *de ngijĕng* at present, one of the groups, now eighteen men strong, is called the *pulangan ijĕng*.

The other five *pulangans* meet at the compound of their *subak*, but the *pulangan ijĕng* convenes in the *bale agung*, where the now-invisible *ijĕng* is considered to be seated beside the deity, and a *sĕmbah* is made to him before the meeting begins. Each of the *pulangans* has its own meeting day. A substitute can be sent to the meeting, provided the substitute is a *desa* member. At the meetings it is discussed how best to perform the duties charged upon the *pulangan* by the *desa* meeting or council. The *pulangans* are responsible for maintaining the *desa* buildings, in particular the *bale agung;* among the tasks involved are those of re-roofing the smaller buildings and of keeping the *bale agung* and the *pura kubu langlang* clean. If an important decision is to be taken in the *desa*, all six of the *pulangans* are assembled together.

Anyone who gives careful consideration to this whole administrative complex will have to admit that mutual consultation would seem to have been given a larger rôle in Tĕnganan than perhaps anywhere else in the world, and that there is not the least reason to fear a reign of terror on the part of the *desa* council. This becomes all the more evident when it is recalled that the *desa* administration is in turn closely interconnected with those of the young people's associations and the *banjars*, and that the administration of justice in the *desa* is surrounded by an ample number of guarantees.

The *desa* of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan has a large source of income at its disposal. It is a principle that all property, movable and immovable alike, is held under the terms of the *druwe desa*, the Tĕngananese right of disposal. If the *desa* is in need of something it has only to take it. If a guest of the *desa* must be presented a meal, there is always a sufficient store of rice in the *desa* granary,

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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735 lately, in places frequented by tourists, people are beginning to
177 ask for money as a return for a service. Ordinarily even a child would be scolded and shamed by anyone who heard him ask something from a stranger. A gift must be reciprocated and we
431 were often embarrassed by the return presents of our poor neigh-
123 bours. We gave Ktut Adi, a little dancer of eight, a scarf of no great value; one day soon after she came to us with a basket of rice, some eggs, and a live chicken, carried by her mother because the load was too great for her. Children of the neighbourhood that Rose had treated for infected wounds always came back with presents of fruit, cakes, or rice which they handed casually to our house-boy, never mentioning them to us, as if they wanted to avoid making a demonstration of their generosity. Even children have a strong sense of pride.

565 The aristocracy is despotic and arrogant, but the ordinary
181 people, although used to acknowledging the superiority of their masters, are simple and natural in an unservile and unsubmissive way. By the threat of passive disobedience and boycott they kept
[626] the princes from overstepping their bounds. Europeans com-
[648] plain that the Balinese make bad servants; they are too free, too frank, and do not respond to the insolent manner that the white man has adopted as " the only way to deal with natives."

577 Their moral code consists in maintaining their traditional behaviour, observing their duties towards their fellow villagers and paying due respect to the local feudal princes. Among themselves they are kind and just, avoiding unnecessary quarrels and solving their disputes by the simplest and most direct methods.

621 The villages are organized into compact boards or councils,
476 independent of other villages. Every married man — that is,
[623] every grown man — is a member of the council and is morally and physically obliged to co-operate for the welfare of the community. A man is assisted by his neighbours in every task he cannot perform alone; they help him willingly and as a matter of duty, not expecting any reward other than the knowledge that, were they in his case, he would help in the same manner. In this way

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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535 boys overcomes his shyness, walks up to his favourite girl when
883 her turn comes again, and takes his place in a stately dance. If she is pleased, she will continue to dance with him until the bar

[292]

The Abuang

of music is over, but if she dislikes the boy, she leaves the floor and goes back into line while the crowd laughs at the rejected suitor.

582 Marriage restrictions are peculiar in Tenganan; their isolation-
565 ist law allows no one to marry outside the village, and even there only within certain rules as to family and caste. There was, for instance, the daughter of the priest who was already past marriageable age, but who could not find a husband since there were no unmarried men of her class. This continual inbreeding perhaps accounts for the decadent and aristocratic type of the people. A
[684] Tenganan who marries outside the village or breaks one of their taboos is thrown out of the village; such exiles have formed a small village of their own just outside the main gate, but they are never again admitted into the mother community.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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191 dreadful insult to speak of someone's head as *tandas*, meaning
564 the head of animals.
576 The type of language used in conversation is prescribed by one of the strict rules of caste etiquette, and the use of the wrong form is a serious offence. A prince has to be addressed as "highness" (*Ratú* or *Agung*), but he and the people of his caste talk to everybody in the low language, except perhaps to their parents, elder brothers, and members of the priestly caste, the Brahmanas. Polite people (not all high-born people are considered polite) are supposed to address old people in the high language.

198 There is still a fourth language, the Kawi, used on ritual occa-
197 sions, in poetry and classic literature. It is archaic Javanese, in which nine out of ten words are Sanskrit; but the knowledge of Kawi rests almost entirely with the priests and scholarly Balinese.

191 The language problem of Bali has been further complicated
178 by the addition of Malay, now officially the language of the Dutch East Indies. It is taught in the schools and is spreading rapidly among the Balinese youth because it is considerably simpler than the difficult Balinese and is free of the caste regulations. Thus a modern Balinese scholar would require five languages for social and cultural intercourse: the high, middle, and low Balinese, plus Kawi and Malay. Such a linguist is not rare today in Bali.

THE CASTES

564 The Hindu caste system as it is found today in Bali was not
177 firmly implanted until after the conquest by the famous Gadja Mada. Then Hindu-Javanese rule was definitely established and the island was divided into vassal territories paying tribute to the local princes that were given control. The natives lived under a
[565] class system of their own long before that time, however. They had their ranks, with a sort of aristocracy that combined government and priesthood.

184 Hindu-Javanese penetration did not reach many of the remote
564 mountain communities, which remained outside the feudal ter-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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564 identified by the titles of Ida Bagus for men and Ida Ayú for
792 women, both meaning " Eminent and Beautiful."
554 Satrias are supposed to be the descendants of the former rulers,
564 and many claim to be of the family of Sri Krisna Kapakisan, the great overlord that ruled Bali at the time of Gadja Mada. He was supposedly born of a heavenly nymph and a stone Brahmana (Korn). The Satria caste is divided into two main groups; the Satria Dalem, the descendants of the ruling princes, and the lesser Satria Djawa, those of the prime ministers' families. Today Satria blood is very mixed, owing to intermarriage with the lower castes, some of which are considered even lower than the higher Wesias. The Satrias are called by the titles of Ratú, Anak Agung, Tjokorde, and so forth. Among the lesser groups are the Predewa and the Pangakan (who bear the titles of Prebagus and Presanghyang).

The members of the third caste, the Wesias, are better known in Bali by their title of Gusti, also subdivided into many groups. The highest, the Pregusti, are the descendants of Arya Damar, the predecessor of Gadja Mada. The lower Wesias are the descendants of the lesser Javanese princes and Pungawas. The Gustis are the majority of the Balinese nobility and are often politically influential.

564 Certain professions are unclean, and if practised within the
783 village pollute the *desa*, such as the indigo-dyers, pottery-, palm-sugar-, and *arak*-makers. Although Korn claims there are no real outcastes in Bali, I was told by everybody that indigo-dyers belong
[766] to a special caste, the *pamesan*, who are forbidden by traditional law to use wood or cotton in their cremation bier, which should be open, without a roof, and devoid of ornaments. They said that the *pamesan* are often rich and careful to conceal their origin. When it is mentioned that someone is a *pamesan*, it is done in a pitying whisper. There was a scandal in Den Pasar about someone who had maliciously accused another of being a *pamesan*. This may perhaps point to a trace of the idea of the outcaste.

565 The aristocracy divides the population of Bali into " insiders "

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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(*dalem*), which are themselves, those who live within the palace; and the "outsiders" (*djaba*), the common people. From the point of view of the great majority of the Balinese, this is a fallacy, since it is the nobility who are the real outsiders. The feudalism of the Hindu aristocracy was curiously only superimposed on the Balinese patriarchal communism, and centuries of feudal rule have failed to do away with the closed independence of the village communities. Thus the nobility is left devoid of voice where it concerns the inner affairs of the community, despite the Pungawas and Perbekels they appoint to keep an eye on the villagers.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE VILLAGE

One moonlight night the "tock tock" of a *kulkul* attracted us towards the temple of the wind-swept, ancient town of Kintamani, on the rim of the foggy crater of the Batur. On the road we joined an old man carrying a torch who informed us they were calling the village members to the monthly meeting in the *balé agung*, the "great house," the council hall of the community. It was a long shed with a raised platform running along its entire length and with a thick thatch of sugar-palm fibre, faintly lit by a primitive oil lamp. There sat the village Elders, cross-legged, in two rows facing each other, talking quietly, each in his allotted place and carefully avoiding the empty seats of those who had not yet arrived. Slowly the platform filled up. When everybody was present, the old headman of the council called the roll while two assistants went around with flashlights to see that everybody was properly dressed: wearing the ceremonial breast-cloth, and a kris.

Thus the Elders of the old villages like Kintamani meet at each full moon to partake of a ceremonial banquet in the company of their gods. The assistants distributed the food from a large basket, placing a heap of parched rice with a ring of beans around it in front of each man, served by a specified ritual number of handfuls. After the distribution of food was over, the oldest member sat at the extreme end of the *balé agung* in an attitude of prayer and recited a rousing speech to invite the ancestral spirits, the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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462 ing, playing musical instruments, is the work of men. Women own, raise, and sell chickens and pigs, but only men care for cows, buffaloes, and ducks. Since men dislike working for wages, the women of the lower classes are obliged to engage as coolies transporting building-materials, carrying coconuts to sell to the Chinese for making copra, delivering charcoal, or obtaining broken coral from the beach to make lime. Although only men build Balinese houses, women are the house-painters and work as masons in constructions of Western style.

Domestic duties such as fetching water for the kitchen, threshing rice, making flour, weaving, and making domestic offerings are performed by women, but men take an equal interest in the [855] care of children and are proud to carry their sons everywhere. While the daily food is cooked by women, only men may prepare the pork and turtle dishes for banquets, and rice may be cooked by both. When at harvest-time both sexes help cut the rice and [482] carry it home, every woman holds one of the heavy sheaves on her head, and the men carry two, one on each end of a pole swung across the shoulders. It is a rule that a woman carries only on her head and a man on his shoulders, except for offerings and holy objects, which must be carried on the head.

857 Children assist their parents in the daily work, the boys taking
462 care of the ducks and cows and weeding the ricefields; or, if their father is a craftsman, they become his apprentices. Little girls help their mothers to carry loads, to cook, to weave, or sell in the market. The activity of the women seems to increase with age; by
887 far the most active person in our household was Gusti's aunt, a proud old woman over sixty. Women of the common class carry
● [565] even greater loads than the young, but she, being a *Pregusti*, could not carry loads. Her hands, however, were never still and she was reputed the best maker of offerings in the *bandjar*. Endowed with a knowledge acquired only by age, elderly women are essential to the religious festivals and many act as priestesses.

Although old men are mainly concerned with sitting in the *balé bandjar* discussing literature, chewing *sirih*, and drinking

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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young Brahmanas from Mas who turn out intricate statues of hard wood or with equal ability paint a picture, design a temple gate, or act and dance.

Painting, sculpture, and playing on musical instruments are arts by tradition reserved to the men, but almost any woman can weave beautiful stuffs and it is curious that the most intriguing textiles, those in which the dyeing and weaving process is so complicated that years of labour are required to complete a scarf, are made by the women of Tenganan, an ancient village of six hundred souls who are so conservative that they will not maintain connections with the rest of Bali and who punish with exile whoever dares to marry outside the village.

The main artistic activity of the women goes into the making of beautiful offerings for the gods. These are intricate structures of cut-out palm-leaf, or great pyramids of fruit, flowers, cakes, and even roast chickens, arranged with splendid taste, masterpieces of composition in which the relative form of the elements employed, their texture and colour are taken into consideration. I have seen monuments, seven feet in height, made entirely of roasted pig's meat on skewers, decorated into shapes cut out of the waxy fat of the pig and surmounted with banners and little umbrellas of the lacy stomach tissues, the whole relieved by the vivid vermilion of chili-peppers. Although women of all ages have always taken part in the ritual offering dances, in olden times only little girls became dancers and actresses; but today beautiful girls take part in theatrical performances, playing the parts of princesses formerly performed exclusively by female impersonators.

The effervescence of artistic activity and the highly developed æsthetic sense of the population can perhaps be explained by a natural urge to express themselves, combined with the important factor of leisure resulting from well-organized agricultural cooperatism. However, the most important element for the development of a popular culture, with primitive as well as refined characteristics, was perhaps the fact that the Balinese did not

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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181 permit the centralization of the artistic knowledge in a special
517 intellectual class. In old Balinese books on ethics, like the *Niti*
● 565 *Sastra*, it is stated that a man who is ignorant of the writings is like a man who has lost his speech, because he shall have to remain silent during the conversation of other men. Furthermore, it was a requirement for the education of every prince that he should know mythology, history, and poetry well enough; should learn painting, woodcarving, music, and the making of musical instruments; should be able to dance and to sing in Kawi, the classic language of literature. There is hardly a prince who does not possess a good number of these attributes, and those deprived of talent themselves support artists, musicians, and actors as part of their retinue. Ordinary people look upon their feudal lords as models of conduct and do not hesitate to imitate them, learning their poetry, dancing, painting, and carving in order to be like them.

Thus, not only the aristocracy can create informal beauty, but a commoner may be as finished an artist as the educated nobleman, although he may be an agriculturist, a tradesman, or even a coolie. Our host in Bali was a prince and a musician, but there
[533] were others of the common class who were among the finest musicians of the neighbourhood. Of the leaders of the famous orchestras of our district, one was a coolie, another a goldsmith, and a third a chauffeur.

532 Until a few years ago the Balinese did not paint pictures or make statues without some definite purpose. It has often been stated that there are no words in the Balinese language for "art" and "artist." This is true and logical; making a beautiful offering, and carving a stone temple gate, and making a set of masks are tasks of equal æsthetic importance, and although the artist is regarded as a preferred member of the community, there is no separate class of artists, and a sculptor is simply a "carver" or a figure-maker, and the painter is a picture-maker. A dancer
[535] is a *legong*, a *djanger*, and so forth – the names of the dances they perform.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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857 consciousness of position in space develops naturally together with
858 the use of language, and the words "kadja," "kelod," "koaeh," and
823 "kangin" are frequently heard in the chatter of the four and five year olds. When such a group was making drawings at my house, they arranged between them which was to have the South wall, which the East, and so on.

823 Every Balinese sleeps with his head either to the North (in
513 North Bali, South; see footnote, p. 2) or to the East. He may not even lie down for a moment in the opposite direction, for the feet are dirty and may not be put in the place of the head. To lie in the reversed position is said to be "lying like a dead man," although the
[164] Balinese in South Bali are not buried with their heads to the South. The implication is that only a dead man, who could not help himself, would lie in this dangerously wrong way.

Sense of Social Orientation

829 By imitation of their elders the children soon learn also on which
576 "level" they should sit at formal gatherings. Within the courtyard
342 of the Balinese house are a number of pavilions, each on a foundation
869 of sandstone varying in height from two to four feet. On the platforms so formed are couches of bamboo, constructed between the pillars which support the roof. It is customary to sit either upon the clay floor of the foundation-platform or on the couches, which also may vary in height. Thus are provided a hierarchy of sitting-places, whose relative height may be easily ascertained, as the pavilions are without walls.

593 In family groups no particular attention is paid to the arrange-
596 ment of levels, and a little girl does not have to stop to think whether
594 or not she is sitting higher than grandfather. But on the advent of a visitor, especially if he be of higher caste than the family of the host, politeness requires that he be given the highest place. At a
[585] wedding which I attended of a young man of noble birth, a nephew of the Radja, or Regent of the district, the most formal rules were observed in the seating of the guests. On the floor of the highest
793 pavilion sat the High Priests. On a near-by lower pavilion sat the
594 men of rank, and across the court on a still lower pavilion, the women
554 of the family, also of noble birth. Some chairs were provided for
565 the male guests of the "advanced" type, but these were avoided by the more humble members of the group. Even those seated on chairs
[519] were on a level inferior to that where the High Priests sat, cross-legged on the floor.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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legged on the floor. Servants and retainers, people of low caste, came and went through the court. Other pavilions for their use were provided in a rear court, where they would eventually receive a share of the feast; but if any man wished to be seated in the court of honor, he might, after making a reverence with joined hands, squat down on the ground anywhere without fear of offending his social superiors. When all were assembled, the Radja appeared. He marched across the courtyard, mounted the steps of the pavilion where the High Priests sat, and seated himself crosslegged on the bamboo couch which formed the highest level within the court.

The Place of the Children

On occasions such as this when the strictest etiquette must be observed the children are not much in evidence, so quiet are they, so intent on watching their elders and imitating their behavior. Small babies may be present, but they are not heard to cry, for at the first whimper they are given the breast of the mother. This applies to children up to two and three years old, provided no younger brother or sister has taken their place. Aunts, cousins, and elder sisters (from the age of eight or nine) habitually carry or hold children of this age. But it is not customary for a woman other than the mother to suckle the child. A youngster may scuttle across the intervening space which divides the women from the men, scramble into its father's lap, and sit there quiet and solemn-eyed. This is not in the least embarrassing to the fathers, who are extremely affectionate and proud to show off their young. It is not unusual to see a player in the gamelan orchestra holding on his knees for two or three hours his small child, while he reaches around it, beating the keys of his resounding instrument.

As the children grow older, the boys tend to clan together in groups of their own age, whereas the girls stay more closely beside their mothers. One often sees a gang of small boys playing in the village street, flying kites made of a leaf, or a captive dragon-fly, or playing "jacks" or gambling games with pebbles. In contrast to their elders, they do run, skip, and tumble, but rarely does the play take a rough turn. Quarrels consist of brusque words and threatening gestures on the part of the stronger child, while the weaker immediately assumes an attitude of submission, or, if he is struck, utters the plaintive "ado!," equivalent to our "ouch!" The utterance

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

like, having its own independent treasury, rice shed, and meeting place. For larger and more important local tasks the klirans of one hamlet will fuse as a single unit; in the same way hamlets unite within perbekelan for affairs of government, and perbekelan unite within Blaju as a whole to support the Kahyangan-Tiga temples. As the irrigation societies in the Blaju area are small and land holdings are not so scattered, irrigation societies tend to be more or less informally identified with the perbekelan and hamlets closest to them, so that the whole system becomes territorialized through and through.

At the geographical center of this whole territorial complex, facing the market and the main crossroads, lies the "palace" (*puri*) of the ruling family, a walled-in, shabby-genteel complex of houseyards, temples, alleyways, and open courts about a city block square, tightly packed with more than five hundred people comprising a single Vesia-level dadia. The head of this dadia, Anak Agung Ngurah Njoman, is at the same time customary law chief for the whole area of Blaju—i.e., the four perbekelan within the Kahyangan-Tiga set. Though largely an honorary position concerned with giving advice in matters of custom, this apical role symbolizes the continuing dominance of the ruling family in the area. At the perbekelan level, two of the four perberkel are from this family (one of them again being the Anak Agung himself), the other two being ranking Sudra with traditional ties to the "castle."

The role of this elite group is strengthened in many ways. First, unlike many Balinese aristocrats, the Blaju ruling family is not impoverished. About one-fifth of all rice land in the area is still in their hands (though it is owned individually, not collectively, within the dadia), and as almost all this land is sharecropped by Sudra tenants who also have corvée obligations to their landlords, traditional patron-dependent ties remain of central integrative importance. Second, although the members of the ruling dadia live all in one place and so should be members of a single hamlet according to the territorial system, they are by traditional practice distributed among the sixteen bandjar in more or less equalized groups. They are assigned bandjar membership independent of their residence so as to insure a voice (and an ear) for the ruling house in each locality and to strengthen the unity of the whole region. Third, there is in Blaju a major temple, rivaling the Kahyangan-Tiga in importance, which is supported exclusively by all the people in the region who bear Triwangsa, upper-caste titles, thus symbolizing the importance of status and serving to ally all the local high prestige groups with the ruling dadia in its largely successful effort to maintain the traditional stratification system unimpaired.

As noted, this rather neat integration of territorialism and status is not altogether a traditional matter, but stems in part at least from rather recent reforms. The kliran subhamlet pattern, the distinctive element in the whole system, was only instituted in 1940. At this time the hamlet system was very weak, kinship unimportant, and most village functions had fallen into the hands of voluntary seka groups. "People" felt—evidently under prodding from the aristocracy, which began to reassert its leadership at this time—that

[99 cont.]

624 In more recent times a new functionary has been created in the old-fashioned villages, the penjarikan-dèsa, or village clerk, who is responsible to the pasèk and the council of elders.

623 554 The village councilor receives little material reward as the fruit of his office; actually each has a right to a double portion in the distribution of the temple offerings. They are, however, always accorded other distinctions: sometimes a portion of the great bench in the meeting room is reserved for them and separated by a groove from that of the other members.

621 565 In these old-fashioned dèsa, the exclusive society represented by the descendants of the first founders of the village is clearly seen. They do not permit later arrivals to have claims on the land or to have a voice in the administration of the village. Today, however, especially in the mountain areas, the old-fashioned villages are somewhat more kindly disposed toward outsiders; after some years they are admitted as special members of the dèsa association.

The new villages have a quite different character, and this exclusive spirit does not prevail. The aim of the dèsa [100] [623] association here was to look after community interests, provide for safety, and to fulfill the duties to the gods and the sovereign. From this sprang the general rule that every male inhabitant becomes a member of the dèsa as soon as he marries; special advantages concerning the possession of land are not attached to this membership.

The administration of the new type of dèsa is completely different from that of the old-fashioned ones. The council of elders no longer exists; the leadership of the meeting and the [622] office of executive is delegated to one man, the klian, who is 793 one of the members of the association chosen according to the instructions of the godhead through the mouth of the person he inspires in the temple. It sometimes happens that the villagers are not immediately satisfied with the choice and press for a consultation of the godhead.

793 A pasèk is no longer appointed in this kind of village. In his place is the pamangkoe, the keeper of the temple, who

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia
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"old style" and "new style" desa. In the old-style desa a special group of married citizens is obliged and privileged to carry out the functions of worship. The membership of such groups numbers twenty or multiples of twenty. The members are holders of certain particular agricultural lands. At least, they must be landed proprietors and married. Succession to the group is based on a variety of principles. The oldest villagers have special administrative functions and a place to fulfil in the worship of the gods. Even the peacemakers in village disputes are in essence religious administrators, for they protect the village territory from defilement brought on by quarrels.

The social strata make up the Balinese village. The nuclear group of first-settlers holds the first rank. A larger group of subordinate middle-class people shares, to some extent, in the land and has limited responsibilities. Lodgers and immigrants form the third class, known as "sampingan."

In the villages situated outside of the former principalities, there are various societies, which are subordinate to the village authority. Such are the "banjar," the district society, the young men's and young women's societies, the music and drama society, and so forth. In the appanage territory these freely-formed societies exist as autonomous communities outside of village authority.

Citizenship in the new-style villages is less complex. Every adult, married male, who has a residential compound and has lived in the village for a year, is admitted to the village society. He is, in fact, obliged to join up. Administration by a village headman (kilan), sometimes assisted by some henchmen, replaces the gerontocracy of the old-style system.

Alongside of the two basic types of Balinese communities are the important irrigation associations (subak), a union of sawah[24] owners under a headman, but organized in various ways, and variously aligned with the villages.

In Lombok, the desa is a territorially-based community made up of unrelated families. It possesses an area of disposal and is governed by a "kepala desa."

11. *The Javanese desa.*—The Javanese desa is another type of community, whose base is purely territorial. Its constituency is formed of unrelated individuals and families. And in addition to the nuclear desa citizenry, there are alien, non-native residents, mainly

[24] [Cultivated fields held under a community right of disposal. See the next chapter.]

tea service that might be used for commoners, although among the moderns such nicety is disappearing.

In Bali, the noble caste, which constitutes eight percent of the population, must be regarded as a social group living entirely outside the desa organization. But in such places as South Celebes, where the royal organization has developed out of the folk community and where royalty continues to intermarry within the families of community chiefs, the difference between royalty and non-royalty is more a difference of degree than of kind.

Appended to the princely hierarchy throughout Indonesia are the administrative officials, who transmit the royal edicts and collect and transmit taxes. The higher ranking officials are found in the capital, the lower in the country. Country officials tend sooner or later to take on the characteristic of peoples' chiefs, losing their exclusively royal identity in the process. The prince compensates his officials by granting the royal income from a definite region to each of them.

The royal circle has its own body of custom and law: its own court language, its unique cultivation of literature, drama, dance and music, its specialized arts of metal-working, wood and leather carving, and its separate life at the capital. The social organization of this royal body has been too little investigated and is but slightly known.

There is a structural organization and hierarchy in which the superiors are concerned in the legal life of subordinate officials. They enter into matters of death, marriage, land transactions, money loans, etc. In part, right to land in the capital city are official rights to residential compounds. But these rights tend to develop in the direction of native ownership.[23] Other land rights are temporary rights of aliens, as the kampong of foreign traders. Residents gradually acquire independent negotiable rights to parcels of residential compounds, in the same way as in the interior of Java, parcels of the large princely residential compounds have occasionally been given away and have come in native ownership into the hands of others.

The prince is the supreme judge. He hands down legal decisions through his law courts. These decisions are part of his princely power. When they arise from controversies between his subjects, which could not be settled in the small communities, they merge with adat rights and influence the adat law of the communities.

[23] [I.e., individual possession under group ownership.]

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Redjang-Lampong OD12 Minangkabau OD10
Sumba OF17
Bali OF7

f. *Matrilineal marriage.*—A marriage in a matrilineal system is not coupled with such payments as bride-price or marriage portion. The husband remains in his own kin group. But as an individual allied by marriage (urang sumando in Minangkabau) he is admitted to association with his wife's family. At the conclusion of the marriage, he is fetched from his home, where a brief ritual of release takes place, and he is forthwith brought "home," i.e., to the household of his wife.

g. *Adoptive marriage.*—Adoptive marriage has already been mentioned a number of times (pp. 58, 156, 159, 169). In such marriages,[7] the biological relation of child to mother attains a social meaning such as is generally associated structurally with the relationship to the father. Among some peoples the spouse is frequently chosen from a lower class or an alien group, but in general the choice is taken from within the same tribe and class. Rarely, we find reports about a payment, which releases the man from his kin group, as the payment of a thousand doits or a pillow and rice (as in Bali) or the payment for a man who is transferred from his "kabisu" (clan) to that of his wife in Sumba.

Among the Pepadon groups in the Lampongs, an adat dignitary (penjimbang), whose head wife (bini ratu) has produced only daughters, can maintain his position for his own family line by having his daughters undertake an adoptive marriage. This may take several forms. First, the chief's nephew marries his daughter and becomes a son-in-law; as such he gets the chief's position and inheritance and passes them on to his son. Second, an outsider may be adopted into the chief's family, marry the girl, and carry out these functions as a son-in-law. Third, the husband may transfer into his wife's family, but he gets his father-in-law's status and inheritance only in the sense that he administers it for his wife and son. Fourthly, the husband does not transfer into the wife's family, except insofar as he is admitted as the procreator of offspring. In only one group [among the Pepadons], the Sewo Mego, is the marriage of cousins blocked by exogamy.

In the case of the lower classes, where inheritance is the sole concern, similar possibilities exist, but under different names.

In Bali, too, when a man has daughters, but no sons, there are the two basic arrangements: adoption of the son-in-law as the bearer

[7] This type of marriage is called "anggap" (Gayo), "semendo ambil," "anaq," "nangkon," "tjambur sumbai," *etc.* (South Sumatra), "kawin ambil piara" (Ambon), and "nyeburin" (Bali).

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1 Bali, OF7 Batak . OD5
Java OE1
Celebes OG1

Bt I

when the testator has no children; his "barang asal" then goes back to his own extended family—lest it "get away"—while the household goods are taken by the surviving spouse. It has already been said that in some law-areas a strong family bond can also influence the inheritance of goods, which were acquired by the household (p. 190). Among the Toba-Bataks, lands which have been given as dowry to the daughter remain at the death of the woman with the husband and his family, it is true, but in such a way that for generations, the in-laws (boru) may not use it without consulting the wife's family (hula hula) and giving them a right of preference.

428 594 596 J I

2. *Property of special value.*—The sacred objects in a family can be tied up with the status of the possessor; for example, the "kraton" goods of the "kasepuhan" in Cheribon go to whoever inherits the dignity of Sultan Sepuh. In the same way, a name can only be bequeathed to a qualified heir. It can also be said that the heir of that family property becomes the legal administrator.

428 554 429 778 557 I

3. *Household goods.*—Differences in inheritance as a result of household ties may arise when a second marriage occurs. The children of the first marriage inherit the goods acquired during that marriage; the children of the second marriage receive none of them (Borneo). In Muna in South Celebes it is said in this connection, that the property of the one house may not be taken over by the other; in other places in this law-area, there is an adat law maxim to the same effect. In Java, the practice of settlement is ordinarily used to overcome the difficulties of multiple marriage in similar cases. For instance, in case the children by a first marriage are already married and thus form no part of the household of the second marriage, at the death of their father, they do not inherit the goods acquired during the second marriage, at least not if they have already had their share of the household goods of the first marriage. However, they hold a claim to the "asal" goods of their father. If two wives of the same husband form separate households with their children, then the goods of the two households remain separate (p. 177). The more involved the relationships are in a particular case, the more the most acceptable solution has to be found for an arrangement; such solutions, however, are satisfactory only if based on accepted tradition rules.

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4. *Communal property.*—The community's right of disposal sometimes prevents succession to agricultural lands by its internal action because at the death of a first class villager his landholdings

428 425 621 565 177

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Java OE1
Bali OF7

(at least his regular holdings attached to the nuclear village) revert to the community by reason of the right of disposal, and are granted to a village member of lower rank, who is next in turn. If such land is in general given to an heir of the deceased, then there is an inheritance claim to succession to first class villager property. This rule runs counter to the operation of the right of disposal within the community whereby individual rights to fields are allowed only to a specified extent. That is to say (in some Javanese and some Balinese desas), the unit of private lands of the testator may not be added to a unit of ground-holding which is already in the possession of the heir, or on the other hand, it is equally impossible to split the plot of the testator in smaller units among the heirs. Prohibition of accumulation and of splitting up of the standard unit permitted by force of the right of disposal is thus the norm within which the internal operation of right of disposal finds expression. Numerous vague relationships can be created in this way as a result of the apparent support, for one reason or another, of the rule mentioned, while privately permitting all sorts of evasions of it. For example, the heir, who already has a first-class villager's field allows it to be entered in the name of his wife or his oldest son, and himself receives the field of his deceased father; or two brothers permit their father's field to stand in the name of the oldest, but act during their whole lives as if each had a right to half of it; the village authorities cooperate by entering the field in the name of the oldest son "c.s." (cum suis). This Latin phrase has come into use in many desas, but in the form of "séès."

The effect of the right of disposal outside the community conflicts with the law of succession in that it often prevents the inheritance of a nuclear village field by an heir not living in the village. Here also are transitional conditions: putting up a proxy for desa services, entering the land in the name of a member of the extended family, etc. In case of dispute, the decision must bring out the true facts of such a half-way condition.

5. *Designated property.*—The effect of the actual declaration of the parts of the property in the division of the estate does not take the form of a prohibition or a command, but of a preferred choice of method of division. It is unfortunate that the mechanical procedure in case of the unwillingness of one or more heirs to accept the expressed desires of the testator prevents the government judge from carrying out the provisions in that the whole estate is then sold